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SOCIOLOGICAL ANALYSIS AND THE "VARIABLE" *

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My aim in this paper is to examine critically the scheme of sociological analysis which seeks to reduce human group life to variables and their relations. I shall refer to this scheme, henceforth, as "variable analysis." This scheme is widespread and is growing in acceptance. It seems to be becoming the norm of proper sociological analysis. Its sophisticated forms are becoming the model of correct research procedure. Because of the influence which it is exercising in our discipline, I think that it is desirable to note the more serious of its shortcomings in actual use and to consider certain limits to its effective application. The first part of my paper will deal with the current shortcomings that I have in mind and the second part with the more serious question of the limits to its adequacy.

SHORTCOMINGS IN CONTEMPORARY VARIABLE ANALYSIS

The first shortcoming I wish to note in current variable analysis in our field is the rather chaotic condition that prevails in the selection of variables. There seems to be little limit to what may be chosen or designated as a variable. One may select something as simple as a sex distribution or as complex as a depression; something as specific as a birth rate or as vague as social cohesion; something as evident as residential change or as imputed as a collective unconscious; something as generally recognized as hatred or as

doctrinaire as the Oedipus complex; something as immediately given as a rate of newspaper circulation to something as elaborately fabricated as an index of anomie. Variables may be selected on the basis of a specious impression of what is important, on the basis of conventional usage, on the basis of what can be secured through a given instrument or technique, on the basis of the demands of some doctrine, or on the basis of an imaginative ingenuity in devising a new term.

Obviously the study of human group life calls for a wide range of variables. However, there is a conspicuous absence of rules, guides, limitations and prohibitions to govern the choice of variables. Relevant rules are not provided even in the thoughtful regulations that accompany sophisticated schemes of variable analysis. For example, the rule that variables should be quantitative does not help, because with ingenuity one can impart a quantitative dimension to almost any qualitative item. One can usually construct some kind of a measure or index of it or develop a rating scheme for judges. The proper insistence that a variable have a quantitative dimension does little to lessen the range or variety of items that may be set up as variables. In a comparable manner, the use of experimental design does not seemingly exercise much restriction on the number and kind of variables which may be brought within the framework of the design. Nor, finally, does careful work with variables, such as establishing tests of reliability, or inserting "test variables," exercise much restraint on what may be put into the pool of sociological variables.

* Presidential address read at the annual meeting of the American Sociological Society, September, 1956.

In short, there is a great deal of laxity in choosing variables in our field. This laxity is due chiefly to a neglect of the careful reduction of problems that should properly precede the application of the techniques of variable analysis. This prior task requires thorough and careful reflection on the problem to make reasonably sure that one has identified its genuine parts. It requires intensive and extensive familiarity with the empirical area to which the problem refers. It requires a careful and thoughtful assessment of the theoretical schemes that might apply to the problem. Current variable analysis in our field is inclined to slight these requirements both in practice and in the training of students for that practice. The scheme of variable analysis has become for too many just a handy tool to be put to immediate use.

A second shortcoming in variable analysis in our field is the disconcerting absence of generic variables, that is, variables that stand for abstract categories. Generic variables are essential, of course, to an empirical science—they become the key points of its analytical structure. Without generic variables, variable analysis yields only separate and disconnected findings.

There are three kinds of variables in our discipline which are generally regarded as generic variables. None of them, in my judgment, is generic. The first kind is the typical and frequent variable which stands for a class of objects that is tied down to a given historical and cultural situation. Convenient examples are: attitudes toward the Supreme Court, intention to vote Republican, interest in the United Nations, a college education, army draftees and factory unemployment. Each of these variables, even though a class term, has substance only in a given historical context. The variables do not stand directly for items of abstract human group life; their application to human groups around the world, to human groups in the past, and to conceivable human groups in the future is definitely restricted. While their use may yield propositions that hold in given cultural settings, they do not yield the abstract knowledge that is the core of an empirical science.

The second apparent kind of generic variable in current use in our discipline is represented by unquestionably abstract sociological categories, such as "social cohesion,"

"social integration," "assimilation," "authority," and "group morale." In actual use these do not turn out to be the generic variables that their labels would suggest. The difficulty is that such terms, as I sought to point out in an earlier article on sensitizing concepts,¹ have no fixed or uniform indicators. Instead, indicators are constructed to fit the particular problem on which one is working. Thus, certain features are chosen to represent the social integration of cities, but other features are used to represent the social integration of boys' gangs. The indicators chosen to represent morale in a small group of school children are very different from those used to stand for morale in a labor movement. The indicators used in studying attitudes of prejudice show a wide range of variation. It seems clear that indicators are tailored and used to meet the peculiar character of the local problem under study. In my judgment, the abstract categories used as variables in our work turn out with rare exception to be something other than generic categories. They are localized in terms of their content. Some measure of support is given to this assertion by the fact that the use of such abstract categories in variable research adds little to generic knowledge of them. The thousands of "variable" studies of attitudes, for instance, have not contributed to our knowledge of the abstract nature of an attitude; in a similar way the studies of "social cohesion," "social integration," "authority," or "group morale" have done nothing, so far as I can detect, to clarify or augment generic knowledge of these categories.

The third form of apparent generic variable in our work is represented by a special set of class terms like "sex," "age," "birth rate," and "time period." These would seem to be unquestionably generic. Each can be applied universally to human group life; each has the same clear and common meaning in its application. Yet, it appears that in their use in our field they do not function as generic variables. Each has a content that is given by its particular instance of application, e.g., the birth rate in Ceylon, or the sex distribution in the State of Nebraska, or

¹ "What is Wrong with Social Theory?" *American Sociological Review*, 19 (February, 1954), pp. 3-10.

the age distribution in the City of St. Louis. The kind of variable relations that result from their use will be found to be localized and non-generic.

These observations on these three specious kinds of generic variables point, of course, to the fact that variables in sociological research are predominantly disparate and localized in nature. Rarely do they refer satisfactorily to a dimension or property of abstract human group life. With little exception they are bound temporally, spatially, and culturally and are inadequately cast to serve as clear instances of generic sociological categories. Many would contend that this is because variable research and analysis are in a beginning state in our discipline. They believe that with the benefit of wider coverage, replication, and the co-ordination of separate studies disparate variable relations may be welded into generic relations. So far there has been little achievement along these lines. Although we already have appreciable accumulations of findings from variable studies, little has been done to convert the findings into generic relations. Such conversion is not an easy task. The difficulty should serve both as a challenge to the effort and an occasion to reflect on the use and limitations of variable analyses.

As a background for noting a third major shortcoming I wish to dwell on the fact that current variable analysis in our field is operating predominantly with disparate and not generic variables and yielding predominantly disparate and not generic relations. With little exception its data and its findings are "here and now," wherever the "here" be located and whenever the "now" be timed. Its analyses, accordingly, are of localized and concrete matters. Yet, as I think logicians would agree, to understand adequately a "here and now" relation it is necessary to understand the "here and now" context. This latter understanding is not provided by variable analysis. The variable relation is a single relation, necessarily stripped bare of the complex of things that sustain it in a "here and now" context. Accordingly, our understanding of it as a "here and now" matter suffers. Let me give one example. A variable relation states that reasonably staunch Erie County Republicans become confirmed in their attachment to their candidate as a

result of listening to the campaign materials of the rival party. This bare and interesting finding gives us no picture of them as human beings in their particular world. We do not know the run of their experiences which induced an organization of their sentiments and views, nor do we know what this organization is; we do not know the social atmosphere or codes in their social circles; we do not know the reinforcements and rationalizations that come from their fellows; we do not know the defining process in their circles; we do not know the pressures, the incitants, and the models that came from their niches in the social structure; we do not know how their ethical sensitivities are organized and so what they would tolerate in the way of shocking behavior on the part of their candidate. In short, we do not have the picture to size up and understand v. at their confirmed attachment to a political candidate means in terms of their experience and their social context. This fuller picture of the "here and now" context is not given by variable relations. This, I believe, is a major shortcoming in variable analysis, insofar as variable analysis seeks to explain meaningfully the disparate and local situations with which it seems to be primarily concerned.

The three shortcomings which I have noted in current variable research in our field are serious but perhaps not crucial. With increasing experience and maturity they will probably be successfully overcome. They suggest, however, the advisability of inquiring more deeply into the interesting and important question of how well variable analysis is suited to the study of human group life in its fuller dimensions.

LIMITS OF VARIABLE ANALYSIS

In my judgment, the crucial limit to the successful application of variable analysis to human group life is set by the process of interpretation or definition that goes on in human groups. This process, which I believe to be the core of human action, gives a character to human group life that seems to be at variance with the logical premises of variable analysis. I wish to explain at some length what I have in mind.

All sociologists—unless I presume too

much—recognize that human group activity is carried on, in the main, through a process of interpretation or definition. As human beings we act singly, collectively, and socially on the basis of the meanings which things have for us. Our world consists of innumerable objects—home, church, job, college education, a political election, a friend, an enemy nation, a tooth brush, or what not—each of which has a meaning on the basis of which we act toward it. In our activities we wend our way by recognizing an object to be such and such, by defining the situations with which we are presented, by attaching a meaning to this or that event, and where need be, by devising a new meaning to cover something new or different. This is done by the individual in his personal action, it is done by a group of individuals acting together in concert, it is done in each of the manifold activities which together constitute an institution in operation, and it is done in each of the diversified acts which fit into and make up the patterned activity of a social structure or a society. We can and, I think, must look upon human group life as chiefly a vast interpretative process in which people, singly and collectively, guide themselves by defining the objects, events, and situations which they encounter. Regularized activity inside this process results from the application of stabilized definitions. Thus, an institution carries on its complicated activity through an articulated complex of such stabilized meanings. In the face of new situations or new experiences individuals, groups, institutions and societies find it necessary to form new definitions. These new definitions may enter into the repertoire of stable meanings. This seems to be the characteristic way in which new activities, new relations, and new social structures are formed. The process of interpretation may be viewed as a vast digestive process through which the confrontations of experience are transformed into activity. While the process of interpretation does not embrace everything that leads to the formation of human group activity and structure, it is, I think, the chief means through which human group life goes on and takes shape.

Any scheme designed to analyze human group life in its general character has to fit this process of interpretation. This is the

test that I propose to apply to variable analysis. The variables which designate matters which either directly or indirectly confront people and thus enter into human group life would have to operate through this process of interpretation. The variables which designate the results or effects of the happenings which play upon the experience of people would be the outcome of the process of interpretation. Present-day variable analysis in our field is dealing predominantly with such kinds of variables.

There can be no doubt that, when current variable analysis deals with matters or areas of human group life which involve the process of interpretation, it is markedly disposed to ignore the process. The conventional procedure is to identify something which is presumed to operate on group life and treat it as an independent variable, and then to select some form of group activity as the dependent variable. The independent variable is put at the beginning part of the process of interpretation and the dependent variable at the terminal part of the process. The intervening process is ignored or, what amounts to the same thing, taken for granted as something that need not be considered. Let me cite a few typical examples: the presentation of political programs on the radio and the resulting expression of intention to vote; the entrance of Negro residents into a white neighborhood and the resulting attitudes of the white inhabitants toward Negroes; the occurrence of a business depression and the resulting rate of divorce. In such instances—so common to variable analysis in our field—one's concern is with the two variables and not with what lies between them. If one has neutralized other factors which are regarded as possibly exercising influence on the dependent variable, one is content with the conclusion that the observed change in the dependent variable is the necessary result of the independent variable.

This idea that in such areas of group life the independent variable automatically exercises its influence on the dependent variable is, it seems to me, a basic fallacy. There is a process of definition intervening between the events of experience presupposed by the independent variable and the formed behavior represented by the dependent variable.

The political programs on the radio are interpreted by the listeners; the Negro invasion into the white neighborhood must be defined by the whites to have any effect on their attitudes; the many events and happenings which together constitute the business depression must be interpreted at their many points by husbands and wives to have any influence on marital relations. This intervening interpretation is essential to the outcome. It gives the meaning to the presentation that sets the response. Because of the integral position of the defining process between the two variables, it becomes necessary, it seems to me, to incorporate the process in the account of the relationship. Little effort is made in variable analysis to do this. Usually the process is completely ignored. Where the process is recognized, its study is regarded as a problem that is independent of the relation between the variables.

The indifference of variable analysis to the process of interpretation is based apparently on the tacit assumption that the independent variable predetermines its interpretation. This assumption has no foundation. The interpretation is not predetermined by the variable as if the variable emanated its own meaning. If there is anything we do know, it is that an object, event or situation in human experience does not carry its own meaning; the meaning is conferred on it.

Now, it is true that in many instances the interpretation of the object, event or situation may be fixed, since the person or people may have an already constructed meaning which is immediately applied to the item. Where such stabilized interpretation occurs and recurs, variable analysis would have no need to consider the interpretation. One could merely say that as a matter of fact under given conditions the independent variable is followed by such and such a change in the dependent variable. The only necessary precaution would be not to assume that the stated relation between the variables was necessarily intrinsic and universal. Since anything that is defined may be redefined, the relation has no intrinsic fixity.

Alongside the instances where interpretation is made by merely applying stabilized meanings there are the many instances where the interpretation has to be constructed.

These instances are obviously increasing in our changing society. It is imperative in the case of such instances for variable analysis to include the act of interpretation in its analytic scheme. As far as I can see, variable analysis shuns such inclusion.

Now the question arises, how can variable analysis include the process of interpretation? Presumably the answer would be to treat the act of interpretation as an "intervening variable." But, what does this mean? If it means that interpretation is merely an intervening neutral medium through which the independent variable exercises its influence, then, of course, this would be no answer. Interpretation is a formative or creative process in its own right. It constructs meanings which, as I have said, are not predetermined or determined by the independent variable.

If one accepts this fact and proposes to treat the act of interpretation as a formative process, then the question arises how one is to characterize it as a variable. What quality is one to assign to it, what property or set of properties? One cannot, with any sense, characterize this act of interpretation in terms of the interpretation which it constructs; one cannot take the product to stand for the process. Nor can one characterize the act of interpretation in terms of what enters into it—the objects perceived, the evaluations and assessments made of them, the cues that are suggested, the possible definitions proposed by oneself or by others. These vary from one instance of interpretation to another and, further, shift from point to point in the development of the act. This varying and shifting content offers no basis for making the act of interpretation into a variable.

Nor, it seems to me, is the problem met by proposing to reduce the act of interpretation into component parts and work with these parts as variables. These parts would presumably have to be processual parts—such as perception, cognition, analysis, evaluation, and decision-making in the individual; and discussion, definition of one another's responses and other forms of social interaction in the group. The same difficulty exists in making any of the processual parts into variables that exists in the case of the complete act of interpretation.

The question of how the act of interpretation can be given the qualitative constancy that is logically required in a variable has so far not been answered. While one can devise some kind of a "more or less" dimension for it, the need is to catch it as a variable, or set of variables, in a manner which reflects its functioning in transforming experience into activity. This is the problem, indeed dilemma, which confronts variable analysis in our field. I see no answer to it inside the logical framework of variable analysis. The process of interpretation is not inconsequential or pedantic. It operates too centrally in group and individual experience to be put aside as being of incidental interest.

In addition to the by-passing of the process of interpretation there is, in my judgment, another profound deficiency in variable analysis as a scheme for analyzing human group life. The deficiency stems from the inevitable tendency to work with truncated factors and, as a result, to conceal or misrepresent the actual operations in human group life. The deficiency stems from the logical need of variable analysis to work with discrete, clean-cut and unitary variables. Let me spell this out.

As a working procedure variable analysis seeks necessarily to achieve a clean identification of the relation between two variables. Irrespective of how one may subsequently combine a number of such identified relations—in an additive manner, a clustering, a chain-like arrangement, or a "feedback" scheme—the objective of variable research is initially to isolate a simple and fixed relation between two variables. For this to be done each of the two variables must be set up as a distinct item with a unitary qualitative make-up. This is accomplished first by giving each variable, where needed, a simple quality or dimension, and second by separating the variable from its connection with other variables through their exclusion or neutralization.

A difficulty with this scheme is that the empirical reference of a true sociological variable is not unitary or distinct. When caught in its actual social character, it turns out to be an intricate and inner-moving complex. To illustrate, let me take what seems ostensibly to be a fairly clean-cut variable relation,

namely between a birth control program and the birth rate of a given people. Each of these two variables—the program of birth control and the birth rate—can be given a simple discrete and unitary character. For the program of birth control one may choose merely its time period, or select some reasonable measure such as the number of people visiting birth control clinics. For the birth rate, one merely takes it as it is. Apparently, these indications are sufficient to enable the investigator to ascertain the relations between the two variables.

Yet, a scrutiny of what the two variables stand for in the life of the group gives us a different picture. Thus, viewing the program of birth control in terms of *how it enters into the lives of the people*, we need to note many things such as the literacy of the people, the clarity of the printed information, the manner and extent of its distribution, the social position of the directors of the program and of the personnel, how the personnel act, the character of their instructional talks, the way in which people define attendance at birth control clinics, the expressed views of influential personages with reference to the program, how such personages are regarded, and the nature of the discussions among people with regard to the clinics. These are only a few of the matters which relate to how the birth control program might enter into the experience of the people. The number is sufficient, however, to show the complex and inner-moving character of what otherwise might seem to be a simple variable.

A similar picture is given in the case of the other variable—the birth rate. A birth rate of a people seems to be a very simple and unitary matter. Yet, in terms of what it expresses and stands for in group activity it is exceedingly complex and diversified. We need consider only the variety of social factors that impinge on and affect the sex act, even though the sex act is only one of the activities that set the birth rate. The self-conceptions held by men and by women, the conceptions of family life, the values placed on children, accessibility of men and women to each other, physical arrangements in the home, the sanctions given by established institutions, the code of manliness, the

pressures from relatives and neighbors, and ideas of what is proper, convenient and tolerable in the sex act—these are a few of the operating factors in the experience of the group that play upon the sex act. They suffice to indicate something of the complex body of actual experience and practice that is represented in and expressed by the birth rate of a human group.

I think it will be found that, when converted into the actual group activity for which it stands, a sociological variable turns out to be an intricate and inner-moving complex. There are, of course, wide ranges of difference between sociological variables in terms of the extent of such complexity. Still, I believe one will generally find that the discrete and unitary character which the labeling of the variable suggests vanishes.

The failure to recognize this is a source of trouble. In variable analysis one is likely to accept the two variables as the simple and unitary items that they seem to be, and to believe that the relation found between them is a realistic analysis of the given area of group life. Actually, in group life the relation is far more likely to be between complex, diversified and moving bodies of activity. The operation of one of these complexes on the other, or the interaction between them, is both concealed and misrepresented by the statement of the relation between the two variables. The statement of the variable relation merely asserts a connection between abbreviated terms of reference. It leaves out the actual complexes of activity and the actual processes of interaction in which human group life has its being. We are here faced, it seems to me, by the fact that the very features which give variable analysis its high merit—the qualitative constancy of the variables, their clean-cut simplicity, their ease of manipulation as a sort of free counter, their ability to be brought into decisive relation—are the features that lead variable analysis to gloss over the character of the real operating factors in group life, and the real interaction and relations between such factors.

The two major difficulties faced by variable analysis point clearly to the need for a markedly different scheme of sociological analysis for the areas in which these difficulties arise. This is not the occasion to spell

out the nature of this scheme. I shall merely mention a few of its rudiments to suggest how its character differs fundamentally from that of variable analysis. The scheme would be based on the premise that the chief means through which human group life operates and is formed is a vast, diversified process of definition. The scheme respects the empirical existence of this process. It devotes itself to the analysis of the operation and formation of human group life as these occur through this process. In doing so it seeks to trace the lines of defining experience through which ways of living, patterns of relations, and social forms are developed, rather than to relate these formations to a set of selected items. It views items of social life as articulated inside moving structures and believes that they have to be understood in terms of this articulation. Thus, it handles these items not as discrete things disengaged from their connections but, instead, as signs of a supporting context which gives them their social character. In its effort to ferret out lines of definition and networks of moving relation, it relies on a distinctive form of procedure. This procedure is to approach the study of group activity through the eyes and experience of the people who have developed the activity. Hence, it necessarily requires an intimate familiarity with this experience and with the scenes of its operation. It uses broad and interlacing observations and not narrow and disjunctive observations. And, may I add, that like variable analysis, it yields empirical findings and "here-and-now" propositions, although in a different form. Finally, it is no worse off than variable analysis in developing generic knowledge out of its findings and propositions.

In closing, I express a hope that my critical remarks about variable analysis are not misinterpreted to mean that variable analysis is useless or makes no contribution to sociological analysis. The contrary is true. Variable analysis is a fit procedure for those areas of social life and formation that are not mediated by an interpretative process. Such areas exist and are important. Further, in the area of interpretative life variable analysis can be an effective means of unearthing stabilized patterns of interpretation which are not likely to be detected through the

direct study of the experience of people. Knowledge of such patterns, or rather of the relations between variables which reflect such patterns, is of great value for understanding group life in its "here-and-now" character and indeed may have significant practical value. All of these appropriate uses

give variable analysis a worthy status in our field.

In view, however, of the current tendency of variable analysis to become the norm and model for sociological analysis, I believe it important to recognize its shortcomings and its limitations.

MISANTHROPY AND POLITICAL IDEOLOGY *

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POLITICAL research has shown that the individual's political ideology may be influenced by a number of different factors—his interpersonal relationships, group affiliations, "conditions of existence," personality characteristics, etc. There has been a tendency, however, to overlook the fact that *attitudes toward human nature* may also have some bearing on political attitudes and acts.

There are several reasons for expecting misanthropism to be implicated in political attitudes. First, political ideologies often contain implicit assumptions about human nature (e.g., the democratic doctrine assumes that most citizens are sufficiently rational to govern themselves). Secondly, since a political system basically involves people in action, the individual's view of human nature is likely to be linked to his evaluation of how well the system actually works (e.g., the belief that political dishonesty is rife in a democracy may be based less upon actual knowledge of political corruption than upon the general conviction that nearly everyone is dishonest). Thirdly, the individual's stand on certain specific political questions may be influenced by his assumptions about the nature of man (e.g., the belief that men are fundamentally lazy and will not work without the prod of necessity may induce the individual to oppose a public relief program). In other words, faith in people may be related

to attitudes toward the *principles, practices, and policies* of a political system.

In the course of a study of college students' values conducted at Cornell University in 1952, an attempt was made to investigate the relationship between misanthropy and political ideology. In order to range the respondents along the "faith in people" dimension, we constructed a Guttman scale¹ consisting of the following five items:

1. Some people say that most people can be trusted. Others say you can't be too careful in your dealings with people. How do you feel about it?
2. Would you say that most people are more inclined to help others or more inclined to look out for themselves?
3. If you don't watch yourself, people will take advantage of you.
4. No one is going to care much what happens to you, when you get right down to it.
5. Human nature is fundamentally cooperative.

The coefficient of reproducibility of the "faith in people" scale was 92 per cent. In constructing this scale, a deliberate attempt was made to exclude items which could be construed as political in nature. The emphasis was on the respondent's feelings about people in general.

In order to investigate the relationship between the individual's global attitude toward human nature and his political ideology, three aspects of political ideology were con-

* The present report is part of a broader study of college students' values conducted at Cornell University under the direction of Edward A. Suchman, Robin M. Williams, Jr., Rose K. Goldsen and Morris Rosenberg.

¹ For a discussion of the logic of the Guttman methods, see S. A. Stouffer, *et al.*, *Measurement and Prediction*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1950, Chs. 3 and 6.

sidered: the image of the public and the legislator, attitudes toward freedom of speech, and the view of the state as an instrument of suppression.

IMAGE OF THE PUBLIC AND THE LEGISLATOR

The institution of representative government is designed to enable the public, through its elected representatives, to translate its will into law. The individual would be unlikely to have confidence in this principle if he did not make at least the following assumptions:

1. That the great majority of citizens in a democracy are sufficiently rational and informed to make sound political decisions.

2. That the elected representatives are sincerely concerned with the wills and needs of their constituents, not exclusively interested in personal power and gain.

3. That most political representatives are men of integrity, and are not "bossed" by self-seeking minorities.

Let us first examine the assumption that men are sufficiently rational and informed to make sound political decisions. Students were asked to agree or disagree with the following statement: "The general public is not qualified to vote on today's complex issues." Table 1 indicates that 68 per cent of those with low faith in people agreed with this statement, compared with 32 per cent of the respondents with the highest faith in people.

Consider next the question of the responsiveness of public officials to the will of the people. Relatively speaking, those with low faith in people tend to deny that elected or appointed officials are concerned with the interests of most of the people. The misanthropes were nearly four times as likely as the philanthropists² to agree that "There's little use writing to public officials because often they aren't really interested in the problems of the average man."

Finally, there is evidence to indicate that the misanthrope is more likely than the philanthropist to believe that political representatives are not men of integrity, but

are, rather, pawns in the hands of special interests. As Table 1 indicates, the lower one's faith in people, the more likely one is to believe that "Political candidates are usually run by political machines."

These three items were found to scale according to the Guttman method. Those who tended to agree with these statements were classified as "dubious" about the operation of representative government and those who tended to disagree were classified as "sanguine." As Table 1 shows, 76 per cent of those with the lowest faith in people were found in the "dubious" category, compared with 32 per cent of the respondents with the highest faith in people, a difference of 44

TABLE 1. FAITH IN PEOPLE AND IMAGE OF THE PUBLIC AND LEGISLATOR

	Faith in People (In Percentages)					
	High 1	2	3	4	5	Low 6
"The general public is not qualified to vote on today's complex issues." *						
Agree	32	46	45	54	55	68
Disagree	53	44	44	40	38	29
Undecided	15	10	11	6	7	3
Number of cases	(232)	(430)	(376)	(262)	(174)	(76)
"There's little use writing to public officials because often they aren't really interested in the problems of the average man." *						
Agree	12	16	26	27	36	45
Disagree	68	65	55	53	47	39
Undecided	20	19	19	20	17	17
Number of cases	(236)	(445)	(376)	(262)	(176)	(76)
"Political candidates are usually run by political machines." *						
Agree	66	69	76	78	83	92
Disagree	19	18	12	11	11	4
Undecided	15	13	12	11	6	4
Number of cases	(236)	(445)	(376)	(262)	(176)	(76)
Belief in the feasibility of democracy.*						
Dubious (Score 2-3)	32	42	49	56	61	76
Sanguine (Score 0-1)	68	58	51	44	39	24
Number of cases	(236)	(445)	(376)	(262)	(176)	(76)

* $P(\chi^2) < .001$.

²The term "philanthropist" is used in its literal meaning of "lover of mankind," rather than in the more popular sense of a benefactor to humanity or contributor to worthy causes.

per cent. The misanthrope, it would appear, is more likely than others to feel that certain practices of democracy fall short of the avowed principles.

In considering these data, one may get the feeling that these results are simply tautological—that all we have demonstrated is that those with general low faith in people also have little respect for people involved in politics. This is quite true, but it is a fruitful tautology. We would not expect a misanthrope to build a bridge or shift the gears of an auto differently from a philanthropist. But we would expect him to be skeptical about the operation of democracy, because certain of the principles of democracy are founded upon certain assumptions about human nature. The way one looks at democracy depends in part upon the way one looks at humanity.

FREEDOM OF SPEECH

The democratic concept of freedom of speech—the free market place of ideas—implies that most men are capable of arriving at sound judgments when exposed to different ideas. It assumes that they are capable of separating the wheat from the chaff, the true from the false, and arriving at sound conclusions. The advocate of freedom of speech is likely to believe that most men are not easily deceived, are not swayed by uncontrolled emotions, and are capable of sound judgment. The special virtue of freedom of speech, it is often assumed, lies in the fact that exposure to diverse points of view will give the people the soundest basis for arriving at the best decision.

In order to examine this question, we asked our respondents to agree or disagree with the following statements:

1. "People who talk politics without knowing what they are talking about should be kept quiet."
2. "Unrestricted freedom of speech leads to mass hysteria."
3. "People should be kept from spreading dangerous ideas because they might influence others to adopt them."

The relationships of faith in people to these items appear in Tables 2 and 3. In each case, it will be noted, the misanthropic

TABLE 2. FAITH IN PEOPLE AND RESTRICTION OF POLITICAL EXPRESSION

	Faith in People (In Percentages)					
	High 1	2	3	4	5	Low 6
"People who talk politics without knowing what they are talking about should be kept quiet." *						
Agree	21	20	28	30	37	40
Disagree	69	67	63	61	54	55
Undecided	10	13	9	9	9	5
Number of cases	(232)	(430)	(366)	(260)	(176)	(76)

* $P(\chi^2) < .001$.

respondents were more likely than others to be dubious about freedom of speech or to advocate its restriction. Since one can no more imagine a democracy without freedom of speech than without representative government or other civil rights, it appears that faith in people is clearly related to belief in the feasibility of the democratic form of government.

THE STATE AS AN INSTRUMENT OF SUPPRESSION

It is not unusual these days to hear people saying that the government should "do something" about certain deviant or unpopular groups. The public's reactions to such statements are usually comprehensible in terms of their liberalism or conservatism, isolationism or internationalism, etc. However, what often escapes the analyst's attention is the fact that one's position on the issue may be determined by one's attitude to the notion of "law" itself. In other words, the question of whether the government should suppress certain groups is not only dependent upon one's ideological sympathy with, or tolerance toward, the groups under consideration, but also upon whether one characteristically views the state as an instrument of suppression. We would expect those with low faith in people, *irrespective of their own ideological positions*, to tend to say that there ought to be a law against some deviant group.

For example, Cornell students were asked to agree or disagree with the statement: "The laws governing labor unions today are not strict enough." Responses to this statement were expected to reflect the more

generalized attitude of "political liberalism." And this expectation is supported by the data. Fifty-two per cent of the Republicans, compared with 29 per cent of the Independents, and 21 per cent of the Democrats, agreed with the statement.

Nevertheless, Table 4 indicates that, irrespective of political liberalism (as measured by party affiliation), those with low faith in people tend to be more likely than those with high faith to advocate stricter government control of labor.

This point is illustrated again in responses to the statement: "Steps should be taken right away to outlaw the Communist Party!" We find that 32 per cent of the Republicans, 21 per cent of the Independents, and 18 per cent of the Democrats agreed with the statement. Political liberalism is clearly a factor of significance with regard to this issue. However, the statement also reflects the notion that the state is an instrument of power designed to suppress a deviant group. Table 4 shows that, within each political group, those with low faith in people are more likely to advocate suppression of political deviants than are those with high faith in people. It is interesting to observe that the philanthropists show a slight tendency to take refuge in the "undecided" response. The reason, probably, is that those with high faith in people feel the same way about the Communist Party as the misanthropes of the same political affiliation, but that they are

TABLE 3. FAITH IN PEOPLE AND ATTITUDES TOWARD FREEDOM OF SPEECH †

	Faith in People (In Percentages)				
	High 1	2	3	4	Low 5, 6
"Unrestricted freedom of speech leads to mass hysteria." *					
Agree or undecided	16	21	21	27	32
Disagree	84	79	79	73	68
Number of cases	(149)	(261)	(232)	(143)	(159)
"People should be kept from spreading dangerous ideas because they might influence others to adopt them." *					
Agree or undecided	32	38	37	40	51
Disagree	68	62	63	60	49
Number of cases	(149)	(261)	(229)	(142)	(158)

* $P(\chi^2) < .01$.

† The questions in Table 3 were asked in a study of values conducted at Cornell in 1950, whereas the "faith in people" scale was developed in 1952. On these questions, therefore, we are relating the same respondent's faith in people in 1952 to his attitude toward freedom of speech in 1950. One consequence of this procedure is to shrink the number of cases. Hence, the two lowest categories of faith in people (5 and 6) have been combined. Secondly, it is expected that some changes in faith in people and in political attitudes would have occurred during the two-year span. The error introduced by this procedure would almost certainly be in the direction of weakening, rather than strengthening, the statistical relationship. In order to show the relationships more clearly in these two questions, we have combined the agree and undecided categories. The results, it will be seen, are in the anticipated direction.

TABLE 4. FAITH IN PEOPLE AND VIEW OF THE STATE AS AN INSTRUMENT OF SUPPRESSION

	Republicans			Democrats			Independents		
	Faith in People (In Percentages)			Faith in People (In Percentages)			Faith in people (In Percentages)		
	High	Med.	Low	High	Med.	Low	High	Med.	Low
"The laws governing labor today are not strict enough." *									
Agree	44	55	70	14	21	37	24	30	43
Disagree	30	24	13	60	64	43	42	43	35
Undecided	26	21	17	26	15	20	34	27	22
Number of cases	(276)	(281)	(104)	(96)	(87)	(49)	(276)	(249)	(87)
"Steps should be taken right away to outlaw the Communist Party." *									
Agree	28	29	50	15	17	27	14	22	37
Disagree	50	53	36	68	65	57	63	63	50
Undecided	22	18	14	17	18	16	23	15	13
Number of cases	(276)	(281)	(104)	(96)	(87)	(49)	(276)	(249)	(87)

* $P(\chi^2) < .001$ for combined groups.

reluctant to go so far as to advocate suppression.

These findings are particularly interesting because they refer to relatively concrete issues, rather than to some of the more abstract statements concerning civil liberties. The individual with low faith in people tends to believe in suppression of weak, deviant, or dangerous groups, irrespective of his political affiliation. But the misanthrope's tendency to suppress deviant groups is also reflected in his responses to certain more general questions. For example, the members of our sample were asked to agree or disagree with the following statement: "Religions which preach unwholesome ideas should be suppressed." Table 5 indicates that the most misanthropic people were twice as likely as the least misanthropic to agree with this view.

Finally, there appears to be a somewhat greater tendency among the more misanthropic respondents to advocate restrictions on the right to run for public office. Forty-six per cent of them felt that it was "unwise to give people with dangerous social and economic viewpoints a chance to be elected," whereas only 25 per cent of the least misanthropic respondents held this view (Table 5). With regard to these last two questions, once again, the philanthropists appear to be somewhat more likely than others to take

refuge in the "undecided" category, whereas the misanthrope is relatively likely to take an unequivocal stand in favor of suppression.

On a variety of issues, then—freedom of speech, freedom of religion, the right to run for public office, etc.—the misanthrope has a greater tendency to advocate the suppression of deviant people or groups. The individual's view of human nature would appear to have significant implications for the doctrine of political liberty.

In sum, these data suggest that the way a man looks at people has a bearing upon the way he looks at certain political matters. There are many political matters, of course, which are unrelated to the individual's view of humanity. For example, faith in people has little to do with being a Democrat or a Republican, a liberal or a conservative (in the formal sense). But low faith in people is related to a distrust of the public, a conviction of public officials' unresponsiveness to the people, a belief that political machines run the candidates, a skepticism about freedom of speech, and a willingness to suppress certain political and religious liberties.

It is characteristic of sociological studies of political behavior to investigate the relationship between social position and political attitudes and acts. We are suggesting here, however, that it may also be fruitful to examine the problem of political behavior on a different level—the level of generalized attitudes. If we can discover certain generalized attitudes, such as the attitude toward human nature, which spread out to influence people's reactions to a wide range of specific issues, then our ability to predict specific political reactions would be enhanced.

But the faith in people variable may also be relevant to non-political attitudes and behavior; there is reason to believe, in fact, that the individual's view of humanity may influence his reactions to a wide range of social phenomena. In the first place, faith in people is likely to affect his interpersonal relationships, both on a primary and secondary level. On the primary level, the misanthrope may experience difficulty in establishing close, warm bonds of friendship because of his basic distrust of, and contempt for, other people. On the secondary level, a misanthropic businessman may watch his

TABLE 5. FAITH IN PEOPLE AND RELIGIOUS AND POLITICAL FREEDOM

	Faith in People (In Percentages)					
	High 1	2	3	4	5	Low 6
"Religions which preach unwholesome ideas should be suppressed." *						
Agree	16	17	18	20	27	32
Disagree	66	62	63	64	52	56
Undecided	18	21	19	16	21	12
Number of cases	(232)	(440)	(372)	(261)	(174)	(75)
"It's unwise to give people with dangerous social and economic viewpoints a chance to be elected." †						
Agree	25	33	33	39	50	46
Disagree	56	54	50	49	40	46
Undecided	19	13	17	12	10	8
Number of cases	(232)	(430)	(366)	(260)	(174)	(76)

* $P(\chi^2) < .02$.

† $P(\chi^2) < .001$.

employees and business associates "like a hawk," may be abnormally wary about granting others credit, may interpret signs of friendliness as devices of manipulation, etc. There is thus reason to expect the individual's degree of misanthropy to influence his perception of others and his behavior toward them.

The individual's view of humanity may also influence his attitudes toward various institutional structures, social practices, and ideological principles. The misanthrope, for example, may oppose progressive education on the ground that children are innately evil and must therefore be kept under restraint. Or he may interpret acts of charity to be motivated chiefly by the desire to avoid the payment of taxes. Again, he may favor building up national military power on the ground that men are by nature bellicose and that war is therefore inevitable. There thus appears to be a wide range of attitudes and acts which may be influenced by the individual's view of humanity. If research confirms this impression, faith in people could

prove to be a variable of importance to the social psychologist.

In this paper faith in people is treated as a generalized attitude. At present it is not entirely clear how this attitude is linked to the broader personality configuration of authoritarianism. There is evidence to suggest, for example, that the authoritarian personality type tends to have relatively low faith in human nature.³ We do not know, however, whether misanthropy is a central or peripheral part of the authoritarian personality structure. Further study would be required to determine the degree to which misanthropy is a reflection of authoritarianism and, conversely, the degree to which the predictive power of the scales of authoritarianism are attributable to the presence of the faith in people component.

³ See T. Adorno, et al., *The Authoritarian Personality*, New York: Harpers, 1950, pp. 148 and 154 for a discussion of the ethnocentric's negative evaluation of human nature. It is also relevant to note that Item 6 of the F-scale, Forms 45 and 40, p. 256, reads: "Human nature being what it is, there will always be war and conflict."

FACTORS INFLUENCING CHOICE IN ROLE CONFLICT SITUATIONS

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IN a recent publication Stouffer¹ has described a method of studying role obligations with particular reference to "simultaneous role obligations which conflict." An advantage of the method lies in its possibilities for sorting out the causal relationships which obtain among social-cultural and psychological factors in the determination of social behavior. Within this framework one can study the relations between an individual's personality and his statuses with their attendant role obligations. Several studies²

have been concerned with personality factors which influence aspiration for and achievement of given statuses. Stouffer's method enables investigation of psychosocial interaction in the fulfillment of roles attendant upon statuses already ascribed or achieved.

Using the questionnaire method, Stouffer investigated the effects of publicity, social distance, and perception upon role conflict resolution; and his results show that (1) publicity favors universalistic action whether a friend or a stranger is involved; (2) friendship favors particularistic action whether the respondent's actions are public or private; and (3) there is a significant but low order of association between role perception and choice of reaction to conflict.

¹ S. A. Stouffer, "An Analysis of Conflicting Social Norms," *American Sociological Review*, 14 (December, 1949), pp. 707-717.

² R. K. Merton, "Beaucroatic Structure and Personality," *Social Forces*, 1940, 18, pp. 560-568; W. E. Henry, "The Business Executive: A Study of the Psychodynamics of a Social Role," *American Journal of Sociology*, 1949, 54, pp. 286-291.

In the following study, Stouffer and Toby³ sought to determine whether . . . "there is a tendency for some individuals to have a predisposition or a personality bias towards one type of solution," arguing that if . . . "such a predisposition exists, there should be a tendency to carry over certain types of behavior from one role conflict to another with some consistency." Responses to four role conflict situations were obtained and labelled plus for particularism (P) and minus for universalism (U) so that overall response patterns could vary from ++++ to ----. Three further conflict situations were then examined to determine the percentage of P and U responses given on these items by respondents showing given response patterns on the first four items. In general, as one moves from ++++ to ---- the percentage of P given on the second set of items decreases; but the generality is not complete. Table 1 shows the tetrachoric intercorrelations of the first four items.

While these data give some support to the hypothesis of a general trait of universalism-particularism, they are not unequivocal, as differences in the choice of U and P action may well be due to differences in the sorts of acts involved, e.g. crimes, misdemeanors, and violations of the mores and folkways. Stouffer and Toby note variation from item to item in the percentage of P response: (1) Car accident, 26; (2) Drama critic, 45; (3) Insurance doctor, 51; (4) Board of directors, 70. Evidently the nature of the act and the attendant degree of social sanction influences the relative incidence of P and U responses. It might be argued then that only where social forces towards universalistic action balance those towards particularistic action could one expect, as a general trend, personality variables to tip the balance.

The following section of this paper concerns the relationship between social sanction and U-P action. In addition, social distance and publicity are reconsidered to bring out any interactions. The final section takes up the question of whether personality traits influence role conflict resolution when social forces are balanced.

TABLE 1. INTERCORRELATIONS OF FOUR ROLE CONFLICT ITEMS *

	1	2	3	4
1	—	.20	.50	.45
2		—	.32	.35
3			—	.60
4				—

* Calculated from Table 1 of the Stouffer and Toby data. *Op. cit.* p. 000.

INTERACTION OF SOCIAL SANCTION, SOCIAL DISTANCE AND PUBLICITY

1. *A scale of social sanction.* While much has been made of social sanction in sociological and anthropological treatments of social control, little attention has been given the problem of measurement. Classifications such as "sacred and profane," and "law, mores, and folkways," point in the direction of scales, but a workable unidimensional scale has yet to be achieved. Within law there are criminal and civil offenses with a rough gradation of penalties, but the picture is confused because a variety of penalties may be allotted to the *one* crime. The sheer variety of sanctions—death, imprisonment, fine, loss of position, censure, public disapproval, ridicule, etc.—also creates difficulties for scaling. The development of measuring scales would depend upon classification of social sanctions and the determinations of their major dimensions. In the absence of such tools, it was decided to make explicit the differences among acts in terms of the public's conception of their relative seriousness. Seriousness is difficult to define, but it is clearly related to approval and disapproval and the passing of moral judgments. In terms of our understanding of the processes of socialization and the development of conscience or super-ego, differences in such judgments reflect differences in social sanction (imposed or threatened). For instance, in Western Society there are strong legal sanctions against assault, but none against minor breaches of etiquette; so that while both may be disapproved, there would be general agreement that it is more serious to assault one's host than to belch at his table.

A list of acts was compiled to represent the wide range of crimes, misdemeanors, and

³ S. A. Stouffer and J. Toby, "Role Conflict and Personality," *American Journal of Sociology*. 1951, 61, pp. 395-406.

improprieties found in social life. Because of heterogeneity of public opinion, with odd exceptions acts were not chosen from controversial areas such as religion, politics and patriotism, and sex. A general definition of each of the acts was set out, and a sample of subjects required to order the acts for seriousness by the method of paired comparisons, i.e. for all possible pairs to judge in turn the more serious of a pair. From data on a group of 160 Australian-born undergraduates at the University of Sydney, the 20 acts were scaled according to Thurstone's⁴ procedure. The acts⁵ and their relative order in terms of scale values are set out in Table 2.

2. *The role conflict situations.* Role conflict situations were devised for scale points sampling the range from murder to rudeness. The general pattern of Stouffer's questionnaire method was adopted, but a number of modifications were introduced: (1) in all cases the person engaged in the act is someone other than the respondent; (2) in all

TABLE 2. ACTS SCALED FOR SERIOUSNESS BY THE METHOD OF PAIRED COMPARISONS

Act	Scale Value
Murder	3.30
Rape	3.14
Kidnapping	2.33
Sacrilege	1.98
Swindling	1.79
Adultery	1.64
Assault	1.63
Blackmail	1.61
Negligent driving	1.50
Breach of confidence	1.06
Slander	1.05
Burglary	.85
Abuse of position	.77
Profanity	.73
Cheating	.65
Drunkenness	.57
Prejudice	.35
Gambling	.21
Bigotry	.01
Rudeness	.00

cases the person in conflict is the respondent, and he must decide what he will do about the other person's action; (3) only two responses were available, U leading to the imposition of sanction, P leading towards isolation; (4) with the role conflict framework constant, the only variation from item to item was seriousness as represented by different acts.

3. *The experimental design.* The role conflict questionnaire was administered under conditions which enabled the assessment of interactions among seriousness, social distance, and publicity. Each role conflict situation was set out in four ways arising from the factorial combination of two conditions of social distance with two conditions of publicity. For the former, the actor could be a stranger or a friend of the respondent; and for the latter the respondent's actions either remained private or would become public. This provided four forms of the questionnaire which were administered one to each of four independent random samples of 100 cases drawn from the undergraduate population of the University of Sydney. These samples were similar to but independent of the 160 cases upon which the original scaling was carried out. Within each subject's questionnaire, items were randomized to offset effects due to order of presentation.

⁴L. L. Thurstone, "The Method of Paired Comparisons for Social Values," *Journal of Abnormal Social Psychology*. 1926-7, 21, pp. 384-400.

⁵Brief descriptions of the scaled acts follow, the respondent filling the first mentioned role in each case:

(1) a reporter discovers an adjudicator favoring a friend in a competition; (2) a radio sponsor discovers that the officer in charge of auditions requires favors of young female aspirants; (3) an insurance agent observes a client in the act of adultery; (4) a returning officer overhears a census collector divulging confidential information; (5) a student proctor observes a fellow student cheating in an examination; (6) a floorwalker observes a salesman to be intoxicated; (7) a school prefect discovers a student running an S.P. betting book; (8) a citizen observes a murder; (9) a hotel guest overhears offensive language directed at the manager; (10) an army sergeant observes a corporal victimizing one of the men; (11) a theatre patron observes an instance of racial discrimination on the part of the commissionaire; (12) a citizen recognizes the description of a man wanted for questioning in connection with a case of rape; (13) a school teacher observes an act of discourtesy on the part of a bus conductor; (14) a senior shop assistant overhears a junior being rude to a customer; (15) a student usher observes another student letting off a smoke bomb in chapel; (16) an office employee discovers the source of slanderous rumors about another whose promotion is due; (17) a civic officer observes a street vendor selling inferior goods; (18) a foreman discovers that an employee has falsely tendered a medical certificate for a period of absence.

TABLE 3. FREQUENCY OF PARTICULARISTIC RESPONSE TO 18 ITEMS UNDER FOUR CONDITIONS OF ROLE CONFLICT

Acts *	Stranger		Friend	
	Private	Public	Private	Public
Murder (8)	2	5	11	25
Rape (12)	5	3	25	30
Cheating (5)	6	15	15	38
Swindling (17)	26	9	40	20
Slander (16)	28	13	21	19
Prejudice (11)	28	20	43	34
Abuse of position (10)	33	10	30	13
Abuse of position (2)	45	24	46	37
Breach of confidence (4)	45	16	41	24
Profanity (9)	56	52	79	69
Rudeness (13)	59	28	75	47
Rudeness (14)	60	67	81	88
Sacrilege (15)	60	48	50	54
Cheating (18)	60	24	76	53
Abuse of position (1)	77	73	80	69
Drunkenness (6)	81	80	93	88
Gambling (7)	81	79	96	91
Adultery (3)	95	93	90	86

* Parenthetical numbers refer to items as listed in footnote 5.

4. *Results.* Table 3 sets out the frequency of P response for each of the 18 items under each of the four conditions of administration. These data were analyzed by the method of multiple contingency, which for frequencies parallels in many ways the method of analysis of variance for quantities. The results of the analysis are set in Table 4. For brevity the classifications have

been symbolized as A, B, C and D, with, respectively, a, b, c and d levels or categories.

In this type of design, one is concerned with the divergence of obtained frequencies from those expected on the basis of population characteristics. *Ceteris paribus*, if the 18 acts truly represented the total range of seriousness one would expect overall equal frequency of P and U response. The figures were 3383P and 3817U, which prove to differ significantly, although the degree of bias towards more serious acts is not great and should not limit the generality of the findings. This comparison is separate from the subsequent analysis for which different population hypotheses were set up.

For the assessment of the remaining effects, population proportions within categories of given classifications being unknown, sample proportions were set up as population values. Experimental arrangement had set at zero the main effects for B, C, and D and the interactions among these. The only values remaining to be considered then were the interactions involving the variable classification A. P-U variation is significantly associated with (1) social distance, (2) publicity, and (3) type of act. As in Stouffer's investigation, incidence of P response is higher under conditions of friendship and privacy. Examination of the higher-order interactions, all of which are statistically significant, revealed that the *form* of a given association does not vary, but there is change in *degree* from level to level of other factors. For example, in all cases the association between P-U response and publicity follows the

TABLE 4. MULTIPLE CONTINGENCY ANALYSIS OF THE DATA OF TABLE 3

Source of variation	χ^2	Degrees of Freedom	P
Between U and P	26	(a-1) = 1	< .001
(1) A \times B	48	(a-1)(b-1) = 1	< .001
(2) A \times C	78	(a-1)(c-1) = 1	< .001
(3) A \times D	2002	(a-1)(d-1) = 17	< .001
(4) A \times B \times C	4	(a-1)(b-1)(c-1) = 1	< .05
(5) A \times B \times D	75	(a-1)(b-1)(d-1) = 17	< .001
(6) A \times C \times D	23	(a-1)(c-1)(d-1) = 17	< .001
(7) A \times B \times C \times D	202	(a-1)(b-1)(c-1)(d-1) = 17	< .001
(8) Total	2432	(bcd-1)(a-1) = 71	< .001
A = universalism-particularism		B = stranger-friend	
C = private-public		D = acts	

pattern increased U with increased publicity, but there is a higher degree of association in the case of a friend than in the case of a stranger. It may be concluded, therefore, that *social sanction (measured through seriousness), social distance, and publicity all affect choice of universalistic or particularistic resolutions of role conflicts, but their modes of operation are not independent.* These findings would enable specification of the conditions for a particular P-U division, e.g. 50:50.

The linear hypothesis that the greater the social sanction the greater the incidence of U response remains to be demonstrated. To do so requires correlation of the two variables. Accordingly the role conflict situations were ranked for (1) seriousness in terms of values on the Thurstone scale, and (2) incidence of U response. Rank order correlation coefficients were calculated for each of the four conditions, and these are set out in Table 5. The data on adultery were eliminated from the values based on 17 pairs. This act in the abstract scaled high on seriousness, but respondents facing it in a concrete situation did not feel bound to do anything about it. While the morality of adultery may differ in some ways from the morality of other acts, it illustrates a difficulty which arose with a number of items, viz. an act considered in a *concrete* setting will not necessarily hold the same scale position on seriousness as that act considered in *general*. This reiterates the need for an objective scale of sanction. Within the limitations of the present method, a fair degree of relationship between seriousness and U-P variation is demonstrated by the correlation values; and in general it may be concluded that *the more serious the act (the greater the social sanction) the more likely the re-*

spondent will be to resolve a role conflict in a universalistic manner.

PERSONALITY AS A DETERMINANT WHERE SOCIAL PRESSURES ARE BALANCED

Adorno *et al.*⁶ have described the authoritarian personality, much of whose behavior could be conceived of as universalistic. Thus there is some *a priori* support for the Stouffer and Toby hypothesis of a personality bias. Now assuming that such a personality trait or constellation existed, one might ask under what conditions it would be manifest. In some cases it would be over-ridden by considerations of social distance and publicity; and in others, whatever personal feelings might be, the force of social sanction would be the deciding factor. In short, personality variables are unlikely to play a deciding part except where social forces are in balance. Imagine a role conflict situation in which the social pressures towards universalism are counteracted by social pressures towards particularism. If the conflict is to be resolved, some other factor must enter the situation to swing the balance; and it is here that the hypothesized personality bias could most readily be detected. Of course, such bias may well be specific to given situations, in which case for a sample of subjects and situations one would not find any consistency of reaction. If, on the other hand, consistency of reaction could be demonstrated, there would be evidence for a *general* personality trait of universalism-particularism. To test this hypothesis, therefore, one would need to intercorrelate reactions to a variety of role conflict situations in all of which a balance of social pressures for U and P obtained. Factor analysis⁷ of the resulting matrix would bring out any generality. Such a study is now described.

In setting up a variety of role conflict situations, the following criteria were used: (1) The person engaged in an act is someone other than the respondent. (2) The person in conflict is the respondent. (3) To balance social pressures friendship is set against pub-

TABLE 5. RANK ORDER CORRELATIONS BETWEEN SERIOUSNESS OF ACT AND INCIDENCE OF UNIVERSALISTIC REACTION TO ROLE CONFLICT

	Stranger		Friend	
	Private	Public	Private	Public
18 pairs	.47	.54	.59	.56
17 pairs	.58	.66	.66	.60

⁶ T. W. Adorno, *et al.*, *The Authoritarian Personality*, New York: Harpers, 1950.

⁷ R. B. Cattell, *Factor Analysis: An Introduction and Manual for the Psychologist and Social Scientist*. New York: Harpers, 1950.

licity in that the actor is a friend of the respondent, while the latter's reactions will become public. (4) To control the effect of sanction, all acts are to have the same scale position on seriousness, that position being the one which gives a 50:50 division on U-P. (5) In reaction to role conflict four lines of action are available ranging U+ U, P, P+.

1. *Sampling the role conflict items.* An initial pool of thirty items was made up for trial against the criteria. Of these, twelve were drawn from the eighteen described above, some unchanged and others modified in a manner conducive to a 50:50 division on U-P. The additional eighteen items were new. The thirty items were tried out on a sample of 124 undergraduates, and an examination of the U-P splits justified the choice of ten items, five of which are described above (numbers 2, 11, 13, 15, 16). A brief description of the themes involved in the remaining five follows. For this study, renumber the above items in order (1, 2, 3, 4, 5), then (6) a tramway inspector finds a driver has been drinking on duty; (7) a health inspector has to investigate a public nuisance; (8) a hospital director discovers malpractice among the doctors; (9) a spectator observes a player cheating at cards; (10) a union official discovers a breach of safety regulations in a factory.

2. *External validating criteria.* In addition to the role conflict items, certain others were included in the final battery to aid in the identification of the U-P factor, should it occur. The four attitude scales used in the *Authoritarian Personality* were factor analysed by O'Neil and Levinson.⁸ One of the factors revealed by their study was 'authoritarian submission', and as this appeared to be related to universalism, two items known to load on authoritarian submission (A-S) were chosen as markers: Some equality in marriage is a good thing, but by and large the husband ought to have the main say-so in family matters. Agree? Disagree? The family is a sacred institution, divinely ordained. Agree? Disagree? The latter item also loaded on 'religious conventionalism.' Items 8 and 14 from the Rosenzweig Picture-

Frustration Study were also included, and information on sex, religion, politics and social class⁹ was also sought.

3. *The sample.* The final form of the questionnaire was administered to a sample of 500 undergraduates at the University of Sydney. This group was independent of the sample upon which the selection of items was based. To maintain cultural homogeneity (in a country with an extensive migration scheme) the sample was restricted to the Australian born.

4. *The results.* Data are set out and discussed in the following order: (1) item frequencies; (2) tetrachoric intercorrelations; (3) the factor analysis; (4) the distribution of universalism-particularism.

Percentage incidence for the U-P, A-S, and P-F items and for sex, religion, politics and social class, is set out in Table 6. The 50:50 division between U and P was approximated with the majority of the role conflict items, so that a balance of social forces can be said to have been achieved. Where necessary with the remaining variables the classifications were reduced to dichotomies for correlation purposes: *Class* (1+2+3): (4+5+6); *Religion* (Catholics+Anglicans): (Protestants+Others); *Politics* (Liberals): (Labor and others). The eighteen variables were intercorrelated, but a number of considerations led to the rejection of most of the external validating criteria. The Rosenzweig P-F Study was shown to be factorially heterogeneous,¹⁰ and in any case the P-F items did not correlate with the role conflict items. Religious and political affiliation and class were found to be unrelated to U-P variation; and one of the A-S items (marriage) also failed. The remaining A-S item and sex showed appreciable relationship to U-P variation, and hence these two with the ten role conflict items were retained for subsequent factor analysis.

The matrix of tetrachoric intercorrelations is set out in Table 7. The general order of correlation is low, averaging about .30, but the majority of values are significantly

⁹ A. A. Congalton and R. J. Havighurst, "Status Ranking of Occupations in New Zealand," *Australia Journal of Psychology*. 1954, 6, 10-15.

¹⁰ J. P. Sutcliffe, "An Appraisal of the Rosenzweig Picture-Frustration Study," *Australia Journal of Psychology*. 1955, 7, pp. 97-107.

⁸ W. M. O'Neil and D. J. Levinson, "A Factorial Exploration of Authoritarianism and Some of Its Ideological Concomitants," *Journal of Personality*, 1954, 22, pp. 449-463.

TABLE 6. U-P, A-S AND P-F ITEMS AND SEX, RELIGION, POLITICS AND SOCIAL CLASS, IN PERCENTAGES

Item	Variable	Per Cent
Conflict		
1	Particularism	46
2	"	55
3	"	43
4	"	52
5	"	60
6	"	47
7	"	31
8	"	44
9	"	57
10	"	34
Class		
1	Upper	5
2		22
3		27
4		16
5		14
6	Lower	16
A-S		
Marriage	Agree	62
Family	"	78
Sex		
Male		53
Religion		
	Catholic	25
	Anglican	38
	Protestant	30
	Other	7
Politics		
	Liberal	62
	Labor	18
	Other	20
P-F		
8	Extropunitive	57
14	"	52

greater than zero. Owing to the large standard error of tetrachoric r (relative to the product moment r), a very much larger sample than 500 would have been needed to establish the statistical significance of every value. The matrix as a whole, however, is fairly stable when compared with a similar matrix based on the pilot group of 124 cases described above. Furthermore the data are based upon a sample of university students which would not be representative of the general population on the U-P trait, so that selection within the range may be responsible for the low order of correlation. An exploratory factor analysis seems warranted.

The correlation matrix of Table 7 was factorized by Thurstone's centroid method. For each column the highest correlation

value was assumed as the communality. The reflection procedure was that described by Cattell.¹¹ The solution was not iterated. Four factors were extracted, but it is unlikely that more than three should be considered as other than error. As indicated above, the general order of correlation in the matrix of Table 7 is low, and there are some doubts about the complete reliability of the data. Hence one could not be confident about a large number of factors unless each exhibited a fair number of sizeable loadings. If one sets .316 (accounting for 10 per cent of the variance of an item) as

TABLE 7. TETRACHORIC INTERCORRELATIONS OF U-P AND A-S ITEMS AND SEX FOR SAMPLE OF N = 500

	Items										A-S	Sex
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10		
1	—	.23	.27	.19	.31	.25	.30	.28	.29	.38	.17	.02
2		—	.52	.28	.32	.32	.36	.25	.42	.13	.05	.19
3			—	.47	.46	.45	.42	.26	.45	.23	.21	.24
4				—	.49	.31	.20	.04	.33	.16	.31	-.30
5					—	.43	.25	.30	.43	.21	.20	.01
6						—	.33	.14	.33	.26	.22	.20
7							—	.28	.24	.29	.20	-.34
8								—	.36	.43	-.05	-.05
9									—	.29	.18	.05
10										—	.20	.00
A-S											—	.00
Sex												—

the lower limit of a significant loading, the third factor has four acceptable loadings while the fourth has only one (sex .39). It was probably this value alone which was responsible for the bare non-fulfilment of McNemar's¹² criterion as applied to the residual matrix after extraction of the third factor. In light of these considerations, the fourth factor was regarded as error, and accordingly only the first three factors will be discussed. Factor loadings before and after rotation are presented in Table 8. Significant loadings are set in bold face type.

The unrotated solution provides a general factor and two bipolar group factors. A number of orthogonal rotations were tried to achieve simple structure. The solution which

¹¹ Cattell, *op. cit.* p. 162.¹² Q. McNemar, "On the Number of Factors," *Psychometrika*, 1942, 7, pp. 9-18.

TABLE 8. FACTOR LOADINGS OBTAINED BY CENTROID FACTORIZATION OF THE INTERCORRELATIONS OF TABLE 7

Variables	Unrotated Factors				Rotated Factors			
	I	II	III	h ²	I'	II'	III	h ²
1	.50	.25	-.04	.31	.44	.37	-.04	.33
2	.57	-.11	.21	.38	.59	.02	.21	.39
3	.74	-.23	.11	.61	.78	-.06	.11	.62
4	.53	-.30	-.31	.47	.59	-.17	-.31	.47
5	.64	-.14	-.17	.46	.66	.01	-.17	.46
6	.61	-.15	-.09	.40	.63	-.01	-.09	.41
7	.49	.32	-.24	.40	.40	.42	-.24	.39
8	.44	.39	.32	.45	.34	.48	.32	.45
9	.63	-.03	.14	.42	.62	.11	.14	.42
10	.50	.41	.06	.42	.39	.51	.06	.42
A-S	.33	-.08	-.30	.21	.34	.00	-.30	.21
Sex	.10	-.42	.44	.38	.20	-.39	.44	.35
Mean per cent contribution to variance	28.2	7.2	5.6	41.0	27.1	8.3	5.6	41.0

came closest to this aim is set out in the right half of Table 8. This was obtained by plotting factor I against factor II and counter-rotating 13 degrees to relocate the general factor axis through the A-S item. Factor III was eventually left unrotated, as no rotation in relation to any of the others, I, II, I', II', provided any obvious simplification. After rotation, there are as before a general factor and two bipolar factors but their likely nature is more apparent. While the sheer existence of generality is sufficient to confirm the Stouffer-Toby hypothesis of a bias or predisposition to resolve role conflicts in a given manner, there are advantages in attempting to characterize the factors. Suggestions as to the nature of factors have the status of hypotheses, which aids future research and allows cross reference for other factor analytic studies. Accordingly, with emphasis upon the tentative nature of the interpretations, the following characterizations are offered.

With the A-S item as a marker, factor I' might be called authoritarian-submission. The A-S item does not load highly on the O'Neil-Levinson factor and is not therefore a very good marker; but while the evidence does not strongly support the identification of universalism-particularism with authori-

tarian-submission, neither does it go against it. A method of testing this working hypothesis is outlined below. The only item failing to load significantly on I' is sex, but the orthogonality of sex and A-S proves to be convenient for the interpretation of the second factor.

Four role conflict items load significantly and positively on factor II', and sex negatively. In all four items, the role of the respondent tends to be that of a male: radio sponsor, health inspector, hospital director, union official. Of the items which do not load on this factor, all but one involve roles which are not clearly defined for sex. Thus factor II' appears to be related to sex role. The negative loading on sex calls for some explanation. In deciding the sign of a coefficient involving sex, association of maleness with P and of femaleness with U was denoted positive. The negative sign thus implies association of maleness with U, which is congruent with conformity to male sex role. Factor II' might thus be labelled sex role conservatism. This was one social variable not controlled in the investigation, but its presence does not invalidate the general findings.

Of the three factors, the third is the most difficult to characterize with any surety. It is bipolar and contrasts the sacrilege and A-S items with sex and the doctor's malpractice item. As the A-S item loads on religious conventionalism in the O'Neil-Levinson study, one pole of the factor at least could involve religion. As a positive loading on sex indicates association between maleness and P (non-conformism), and the other positive item involves a malpractice, this pole could be anti-religious. This factor might therefore be labelled tentatively morality-immorality. Such a factor could of course be independent of religious affiliation.

It must be emphasized that these factor "interpretations" are hypotheses, and accordingly the question of verification arises. By the questionnaire method, a personality variable has been characterized and a method of measurement provided. The validity of the procedure would be demonstrated if it could be shown that groups contrasted on the universalism-particularism scale dif-

ferred in ways predictable from knowledge of the authoritarian personality. This investigation is in progress and will be reported in a subsequent paper.

SUMMARY

An investigation was made of social and personality factors influencing choice in role conflict situations. It was found that social sanction, social distance, and publicity interact in the determination of universalistic and particularistic responses, but overall weak sanction, friendship, and privacy favor par-

ticularistic response. Resolutions of a variety of role conflict situations in which social forces were balanced were intercorrelated to test the hypothesis that there is a personality bias towards universalistic or particularistic response. The hypothesis was confirmed by the results of a factor analysis of the intercorrelations which provided a general and two group factors. These were tentatively identified as authoritarian-submission, sex role conservatism, and morality-immorality respectively, and a method for testing the first of these contentions was indicated.

SOCIAL CLASS AND OCCUPATIONAL ASPIRATION: A COMPARISON OF ABSOLUTE AND RELATIVE MEASUREMENT *

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Is the American tradition of wanting to get ahead shared by the lower classes?

One group of investigators holds that it is not.¹ Hollingshead for example, says that lower-class youngsters "... have limited their horizons to the class horizon, and in the process they have unconsciously placed themselves in such a position that they will occupy the same levels as their parents."² Another group takes the opposite point of view. Its members suggest, either explicitly

or implicitly, that the lower classes have internalized this tradition.³

Previous investigations on this subject have dealt largely with occupational aspiration in absolute terms; that is, a monolithic definition of occupational success has been imposed upon the occupational hierarchy, and the aspirations of lower-class people have been compared with those of upper-class people. Almost without exception, the *absolute* occupational aspirations of the upper classes have been found to be "higher"

* This paper reports one phase of a project (No. 1141) on the educational and occupational planning of high school seniors conducted by the Department of Rural Sociology at the State College of Washington. This writer is indebted to W. L. Slocum and the members of the department for their help.

¹ H. H. Hyman, "The Value Systems of Different Classes," in *Class, Status and Power*, edited by R. Bendix and S. M. Lipset, Glencoe: The Free Press, 1953; W. A. Davis, "Socialization and Adolescent Personality," in the *Forty-third Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education*, University of Chicago, 1944, Chap. 5; W. A. Davis; "American Status Systems and the Socialization of the Child," *American Sociological Review*, 6 (June, 1941), pp. 345-346; A. B. Hollingshead, *Elmtown's Youth*, New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1949, pp. 282-287; W. A. Davis, and R. J. Havighurst, *Father of the Man*, Boston: Houghton-Mifflin Co., 1947, p. 144.

² Hollingshead, *op. cit.*, p. 285.

³ R. E. Merton, "Social Structure and Anomie," *Social Theory and Social Structure*, Glencoe: The Free Press, 1949, Chap. 4; J. W. Bennett and M. Tumin, *Social Life*, New York: A. A. Knopf, 1948, pp. 490, 587; R. Cattel, "The Cultural Functions of Social Stratification," *Journal of Social Psychology*, 21 (February, 1945), pp. 3-23, 25-55; E. Chinoy, "The Tradition of Opportunity and the Aspirations of Automobile Workers," *American Journal of Sociology*, 57 (March, 1952), p. 453; R. Centers, "Attitude and Belief in Relation to Occupational Stratification," *Journal of Social Psychology*, 27 (May, 1948), pp. 159-186; P. E. Davidson and H. D. Anderson, *Occupational Mobility in an American Community*, Palo Alto: Stanford University Press, 1937, p. 17; A. W. Kornhauser, "Analysis of 'Class' Structure in Contemporary American Society," in *Industrial Conflict: A Psychological Interpretation*, Yearbook of the Society for the Psychological Study of Social Issues, edited by G. W. Hartmann and T. Newcomb, Chap. 11, p. 260.

in the economic structure than those of the lower class.⁴ Because the lower classes are less inclined to aspire to professional and managerial occupations, such findings have supported the idea that they do not desire to "get ahead." But there is reason to believe that relative positions should be taken into account, that is, some attention should be paid to the class level from which the individual begins in deciding whether or not he desires to get ahead.

Mills⁵ and Form⁶ cite evidence which suggests that the prestige hierarchy of occupations is not viewed with the same perspective by different social strata. Other studies indicate that the lower classes do not define achievement solely in terms of a professional or managerial job, but that a skilled job, or the ownership of a small business, also represents progress.⁷ Finally, in individualistic terms, the social-psychological literature on levels of aspiration suggests two important points: (1) that "... the feeling of success and failure does not depend upon an absolute level of achievement" but upon a variety of factors,⁸ and (2) that the lower classes may be more strongly motivated to achieve (relatively speaking) than are those on strata above them.⁹

Gould theorizes that one's concept of the future is an expression of one's status in the

present. "The more unsatisfactory the present is conceived to be the more urgent the desire (need) to depart from it 'in the future,' and the greater the psychological distance between *now* and the situation-to-be."¹⁰ Therefore, she says, the lower class is imbued with a "deep all-pervading" need (which the upper class does not have and the middle class only to a lesser degree) to leave the present.

But there is some question as to whether or not this psychological need of the lower class is ever actually manifest. Gould and others suggest that, despite their need to escape the present, reality compels lower-class individuals to reduce their aspirations because they are not able to accept the risk of becoming less poor.¹¹ In actuality, there may be a large discrepancy between the occupations they would *prefer* to enter and the ones they think they can *actually* enter. Reality aspirations may be limited after all to the class horizon.

The present paper is devoted to further study on this matter. It is based on the responses of male high school seniors to a questionnaire dealing with their occupational plans and aspirations. An effort is made to obtain a more accurate picture of occupational aspiration by measuring it both by an *absolute* and a *relative* standard: when an *absolute* standard is used, the aspirations of lower-class seniors are compared with those of upper-class seniors; when a *relative* standard is used, each senior's occupational choice is compared with that of his father. Thus, not only the actual occupation which an individual chooses but the status level from which he comes is considered in deciding whether or not he desires to get ahead. Furthermore, the analysis seeks to determine whether or not lower-class individuals seem inclined to reduce their aspirations when a comparison is made between their *preferred* occupations and the ones they *actually anticipate* entering.

The following hypotheses are examined:

1. The *absolute* occupational status aspirations of male high school seniors from the middle and upper classes are significantly

⁴ Hyman, *op. cit.*, p. 432; Hollingshead, *op. cit.*, pp. 285-286; and R. Centers, "Motivational Aspects of Occupational Stratification," *Journal of Social Psychology*, 28 (November, 1948), pp. 187-217.

⁵ C. W. Mills, "The Middle Classes in Middle-sized Cities," *American Sociological Review*, 11 (October, 1946), pp. 525-526.

⁶ W. H. Form, "Toward an Occupational Social Psychology," *Journal of Social Psychology*, 24 (August, 1946), p. 97.

⁷ E. Ginzberg and associates, *Occupational Choice*, New York: Columbia University Press, 1951, p. 152; S. M. Lipset and R. Bendix, "Social Mobility and Occupational Career Patterns, II: Social Mobility," in *Class, Status and Power*, *op. cit.*, p. 462; Chinoy, *op. cit.*, p. 453; and Centers, "Motivational Aspects of Occupational Stratification," *op. cit.*, pp. 200-201.

⁸ K. Lewin and Associates, "Level of Aspiration," in *Personality and the Behavior Disorders*, edited by J. McV. Hunt, New York: Ronald Press, 1944, I, Chap. 10, esp. pp. 340-345, 374-375.

⁹ R. Gould, "Some Sociological Determinants of Goal Strivings," *Journal of Social Psychology*, 13 (May, 1941), pp. 461-473.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 468.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 468ff; Hyman *op. cit.*, pp. 433-434; and Lewin *et al.*, *op. cit.*, pp. 344-345.

higher than those of seniors from the lower classes.

2. The *relative* occupational status aspirations of lower-class seniors indicate that they *prefer* and *anticipate* having significantly higher occupational statuses than their fathers.

3. Seniors from lower strata are more inclined than those from middle and upper strata to reduce their occupational aspirations significantly when faced with the necessity of choosing between their *preferred* and *anticipated* occupations.

THE SAMPLE

This study is based on a probability sample of approximately one-tenth of all male seniors who were in public high schools in the state of Washington during the spring semester of 1954.¹² The population from which the sample was drawn did not include boys of high school senior age who dropped out of school before they reached the 12th grade. Any generalization to be made from the data, therefore, must make allowance for this selectiveness.¹³

METHOD

The occupational status of the father is used as the principal criterion for defining

¹² The sample is a stratified, two-stage cluster sample in which the high school, and not the student, is the primary sampling unit. In all, data were obtained from thirty-five high schools (clusters). Where tests of significance are used, non-parameter techniques are applied. The cluster-type sample makes the use of normal curve statistics prohibitively expensive and also causes a severe attrition of cases when each cluster is divided into ten occupational strata for analysis. For a complete discussion of the selection of the sample and of the calculation of sampling variance, see my unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, *Relationship of Social Class and Family Authority Patterns to Occupational Choice of Washington High School Seniors*, Department of Sociology, State College of Washington, 1955, Chap. II.

¹³ Reliable estimates of the number of adolescents in Washington who drop out of school before the 12th grade are rare. The 1950 census reported that 43.1 per cent of the males, ages 20-24, had not finished the 12th grade. Schmid, *et al.*, estimate that during the period between 1925 and 1951, approximately 39 per cent of the total school-age population dropped out of school between the 1st and 12th grades. (See, C. F. Schmid, *et al.*, *Enrollment Forecasts State of Washington*, Washington State Census Board, 1954.) Neither estimate accounts for population migrations.

TABLE 1. UPPER AND LOWER EXTREMES OF COMBINED OCCUPATIONAL SCALE

Occupation	Hatt-North Rank (Percentile)	Smith Rank (Midpoint of Interval)	Interpolated Rank	New Scale Position
Upper Extreme				
U. S. Supreme Court Justice	99.4	99.5	99.5	1
U. S. Diplomat in Foreign Service	95.5	98.5	97	2
Governor of State	97.8	95.5	96.6	3
U. S. Cabinet Member	95.5	97.5	96.5	4.5
U. S. Senator		96.5	96.5	4.5
Physician	97.6	91.5	94.6	6
College President or Chancellor		94.5	94.5	7
Mayor of Large City	93.9	92.5	93.2	8
College Professor	91.7		91.7	10
.				
Lower Extreme				
Bartender	5.5		5.5	140.5
Unskilled worker, odd jobs		4.5	4.5-	142
Share Cropper—owns no livestock or equipment and does not manage farm	3.9		3.9	143
Scrub Woman		3.5	3.5	144
Garbage Collector	2.8	2.5	2.6	145
Street Sweeper	1.7		1.7	146
Unskilled migratory worker		1.5	1.5	147
Shoe shiner	.5		.5	148.5
Professional Prostitute		.5	.5	148.5

the social-class levels of the seniors in the study. Occupational status is measured by means of an occupational prestige scale. This scale was formed by combining the Hatt-North¹⁴ and Smith¹⁵ occupational prestige scales.¹⁶ The upper and lower extremes of

¹⁴ P. K. Hatt and C. C. North, "Jobs and Occupations; A Popular Evaluation," in *Class, Status and Power*, *op. cit.*, pp. 411-426.

¹⁵ M. Smith, "An Empirical Scale of Prestige of Occupations," *American Sociological Review*, 8 (April, 1943), pp. 185-192.

¹⁶ When the occupations common to both scales were placed in rank order, a rank order correlation of .97 was obtained between them. This provided the justification for combining the two scales. The new scale ranks occupations from 1 to 100. The

the scale are shown in Table 1 for illustrative purposes.

The new scale does not justify any minute measurements of difference among occupations with respect to prestige. In order to make a basis for comparison, it was divided into groups of occupations each of which represent 10 per cent of the total. Each of these groups, or deciles, was assigned a number; the lowest decile received the value 1; the highest, 10. Thus, the occupational status hierarchy was divided into ten different strata. Comparisons with respect to social class and occupational aspiration are made in terms of these ten objective strata.

MEASUREMENT OF ASPIRATION BY AN ABSOLUTE STANDARD

The data lend strong support to the hypothesis that the *absolute* occupational status aspirations of high school seniors from the middle and upper classes are significantly higher than those of seniors from the lower classes. Table 2 indicates that, with little exception, there is a direct relationship between present social level and future occupational aspiration for both preferred and anticipated occupations.¹⁷ The higher seniors were on the social ladder, the higher their *absolute* aspirations tended to be.

RELATIVE MEASUREMENT OF ASPIRATION

The data also lend strong support to the second hypothesis. Figures 1 and 2 show

Smith scale already used this system; it was necessary to convert Hatt-North rankings to percentiles in order to make them comparable. The common base was necessary to interpolate differences in the ranking of occupations which were common to both scales so as to assign them to their new scale position, and also to find the approximate scale value for occupations which were not common to both. A complete copy of the scale may be obtained from the author.

¹⁷ Fewer seniors responded to the question on their anticipated occupations than they did to the one on their preferred occupations. However, a chi square value obtained by comparing the distribution of preferred occupations for all those who stated a preferred occupation with a distribution of preferred occupations for all those who stated both preferred and anticipated occupations did not approach significance. Consequently, there did not appear to be a selective factor associated with those who failed to state an anticipated occupation. There are additional grounds for believing that most of those who failed to respond did so because their anticipated occupations were the same as their preferred.

TABLE 2. AVERAGE PREFERRED AND ANTICIPATED OCCUPATIONAL ASPIRATION LEVELS OF SENIORS FROM DIFFERENT SOCIAL STRATA

	Father's Status	Preferred		Anticipated	
		N	Level of Aspiration*	N	Level of Aspiration*
(High)	10	6	7.83	6	7.83
	9	12	7.92	8	8.36
	8	52	7.63	42	7.26
	7	57	7.26	41	7.32
	6	174	6.61	132	6.45
	5	97	6.87	69	6.46
	4	184	6.47	129	5.99
	3	115	6.25	87	5.70
	2	56	6.07	45	5.69
(Low)	1	11	5.36	6	4.50
All Strata		764	6.65	565	6.32

* Differences among strata were significant, Preferred: $\chi^2=50.375$; 9 d.f.; $P<.01$; $\bar{C}=.29$. Anticipated: $\chi^2=62.951$; 9 d.f.; $P<.01$; $\bar{C}=.38$.

that when a *relative* standard is used almost all seniors from the lower strata *prefer* and *anticipate* having significantly higher occupational statuses than their fathers. The Net Per Cent column in these figures, obtained by subtracting the percentage of seniors in each social stratum who had negative aspiration scores from those who had positive scores, indicates clearly that most seniors on the lower levels display an intense desire for upward occupational mobility.

Table 3 shows that seniors on the lower seven occupational strata had positive aspiration scores; and that, where tests could be run, seniors on the lower six occupational

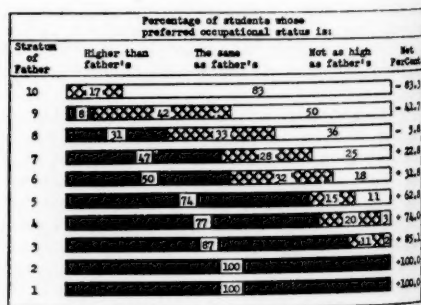


Fig. 1—PREFERRED OCCUPATIONAL MOBILITY OF SENIORS FROM EACH STRATUM.

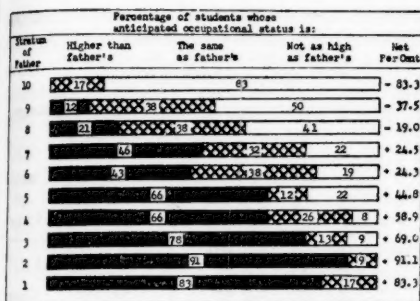


Fig. 2—ANTICIPATED OCCUPATIONAL MOBILITY OF SENIORS FROM EACH STRATUM.

strata aspired to occupational status levels which were significantly higher than those of their fathers. The strong tendency for lower-strata seniors to aspire upward resulted in a negative correlation of $-.60$ between the sons' preferred occupational

statuses and their fathers' present statuses, and of $-.55$ between sons' anticipated statuses and fathers' present statuses. However, a word of caution must be interjected. The measurements demonstrated in the tables and figures are subject to the error inherent in the type of measurement where a prestige scale is used. An individual at the bottom of the status ladder can go no lower in his aspirations, and a person at the top can go no higher. Such a limitation may partially explain the extremes observed throughout the paper. Nevertheless, even if the upper and lower two strata were eliminated from the analysis, the same picture would remain; the lower the status level, the greater the expressed desire for higher occupational status.

Supplementary information derived from Likert-type questions also lends strong support to these findings. Lower-class seniors were significantly more inclined than upper-class seniors to want a job that had a higher social standing in the community than the one their father had,¹⁸ to rate their family income as insufficient for family needs,¹⁹ to think it important that they have a better income than their fathers,²⁰ and to be dissatisfied with their fathers' occupations as the one for them.²¹ In consequence, these overall findings provide little support for the idea that lower-class seniors have limited their aspirations to their present class horizon.²²

REALITY AND ASPIRATION ESTIMATES

It was hypothesized that seniors from the lower classes are more inclined than those from middle and upper strata to reduce their occupational aspirations significantly when faced with the necessity of choosing between

TABLE 3. AVERAGE PREFERRED AND ANTICIPATED ASPIRATION SCORES OF SENIORS FROM DIFFERENT SOCIAL STRATA

Father's Status	Preferred †		Anticipated ‡	
	Aspiration Score	Level of Significance*	Aspiration Score	Level of Significance*
(High) 10	-2.17	-2.17
9	-1.08	$P=.25$	-0.63
8	-0.37	$P>.25$	-0.74	$P=.25$
7	+0.26	$P=.10$	+0.32	$P=.10$
6	+0.61	$P<.01$	+0.45	$P<.01$
5	+1.87	$P<.01$	+1.46	$P<.01$
4	+2.47	$P<.01$	+1.99	$P<.01$
3	+3.25	$P<.01$	+2.70	$P<.01$
2	+4.07	$P<.01$	+3.69	$P<.01$
(Low) 1	+4.36	+3.50
All Strata	+1.78	$P<.01$	+1.42	$P<.01$

* Levels of significance were determined by means of the "Sign" test. It is based on the binomial and permits us to compare the total number of positive differences with the total number of negative differences. In those cases where differences are zero, they are excluded and sample size is reduced. Largely, due to a small "n" and attrition due to exclusion of cases, degrees of significance were not obtained for the strata shown. (See Wilfred Dixon and Frank Massey, Jr., *Introduction to Statistical Analysis*, New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1951, Chap. 17.)

† Correlation between present level and future aspiration: $-.60$.

‡ Correlation between present level and future aspiration: $-.55$.

¹⁸ $\chi^2=66.925$; 3 d.f.; $P<.01$; $\bar{C}=48$.

¹⁹ $\chi^2=71.534$; 6 d.f.; $P<.01$; $\bar{C}=33$.

²⁰ $\chi^2=19.535$; 6 d.f.; $P<.01$; $\bar{C}=20$.

²¹ $\chi^2=44.788$; 9 d.f.; $P<.01$; $\bar{C}=27$.

²² These findings corroborate those of Straus who used similar techniques on a statewide sample of Wisconsin students. See M. A. Straus, "Selected Factors in Occupational Choice of Wisconsin High School Seniors," Unpublished master's thesis, Department of Sociology, University of Wisconsin, 1949.

their *preferred* and *anticipated* occupations. The data lend very little support to this hypothesis. Table 4 indicates that: (1) seniors from most strata anticipated having occupations somewhat lower than their preferred ones; and (2) while seniors on the lower half of the status hierarchy tended to have larger revisions downward than those from the upper half, seniors from two middle strata (4 and 5) had revisions downward which were, or tended to be, statistically significant. Average "reality scores" (distance between preferred and anticipated occupations) and chi square values, obtained by comparing the distributions of preferred and anticipated occupations for goodness of fit for each stratum, are presented in Table 4.

Other data tend to confirm these findings. In response to the question: "What are the chances that you will enter your preferred occupation?" lower-class seniors were only slightly more inclined to think that their chances of entering their preferred occupations were less than those of seniors on strata above them.²³

These findings lend but slight support to the idea that reality causes lower-strata seniors to reduce their occupational aspirations more than others when forced to choose between the occupations they *prefer* and the ones they *anticipate* entering. It may be, of course, that lower-strata seniors had revised their estimates downward before they stated their *preferred* occupations. Hence, when it came to stating their anticipated occupations, they had little downward revising to do. If this were the case, lower-strata seniors still *anticipated* entering occupations which would provide them with a substantial increase in occupational status over that enjoyed by their fathers.

CONCLUSION

The data of the study support the following hypotheses: (1) that the *absolute* occupational status aspirations of male high

²³ Differences among the strata were not significant, but they tended to approach significance. They could have occurred by chance approximately 11 times out of 100.

TABLE 4. REALITY ESTIMATE OF SENIORS AS MEASURED BY THE DISTANCE BETWEEN THEIR AVERAGE PREFERRED AND ANTICIPATED OCCUPATIONAL LEVELS

Father's Status	N	Average Reality Score	d.f.	Needed χ^2 Value for Sig. at 1 Per Cent Level	Observed χ^2 Value*
(High) 10	6	-0.001	3	11.341	2.112
9	12	+0.46	3	13.277	5.048
8	52	-0.37	4	15.086	1.082
7	57	+0.06	5	16.812	4.516
6	174	-0.16	6	15.086	15.035
5	97	-0.41	5	18.475	20.300
4	184	-0.48	7	16.812	9.128
3	115	-0.55	6	15.086	6.383
2	56	-0.38	5	21.666	3.3361
(Low) 1	11	-0.85	9		
All Strata	764	-0.35	9		

* It is possible that, with another test, the revisions downward for stratum 1 might have been significant but, because the "n" was so small, it was necessary to combine it with stratum 2 for this analysis. The same was done for strata 9 and 10. In analyzing the distributions for each stratum, aspirations to strata 1-3 and 9-10 were combined in most cases because relatively few seniors aspired to these levels.

school seniors from the middle and upper classes are significantly higher than those of seniors from the lower classes; and (2) that the *relative* occupational status aspirations of lower-class seniors indicate that they *prefer* and *anticipate* having significantly higher occupational statuses than their fathers. The data do not support the hypothesis that seniors from lower strata are more inclined than those from middle and upper strata to reduce their occupational aspirations significantly when faced with the necessity of choosing between their *preferred* and *anticipated* occupations.

Thus, these findings do not support two important schools of thought on the occupational aspirations of lower-class youth: (1) that lower-class youth have limited their occupational aspirations to the class horizon; or (2) that lower-class youth have the same lofty occupational aspirations as those from upper strata. Instead, they show that, while the lower-class youngsters aspired to get ahead, they aspired to occupations at differ-

ent status levels than those from higher strata. Their aspirations were perhaps the result of conditioning on particular socioeconomic levels. Consequently, it would seem that any attempt to impose a monolithic definition of occupational success and

aspiration upon all social strata would require the projection of the definition of one stratum upon all strata. Therefore, measurement of aspiration for comparative purposes would likely be most accurate if it took relativities into account.

SOCIAL INTEGRATION AND CERTAIN COROLLARIES: AN EXPLORATORY STUDY

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THIS article has evolved from a preliminary report of a study conducted in Springfield, Massachusetts, in 1950.¹ Although the study was originally conceived as applied rather than pure research, the attitude-type scale devised afforded an operational formulation of the anomie concept. This formulation was broader, however, than that specified by Durkheim.

The writer felt the need for further conceptualization in the light of theoretical developments centering on the concept of "social integration,"² and in 1952 it became possible to apply the writer's version of the anomie concept to research in New York

City in connection with a large scale study of mental health and its social corollaries.³ This paper benefits from the findings of the New York research, although it is substantially based on the earlier research.

CONCEPTS, HYPOTHESES AND RESEARCH DESIGN

The objective of the Springfield study was the measurement and assessment of the impact of a series of ADL card advertisements (anti-discrimination and American Creed messages) that were posted under controlled conditions in vehicles of the public transit system. The applied character of this research⁴ imposed a different research design than would have been developed if the study had exclusively focused on the anomie concept.

The "target" audience studied was the Springfield transit riding population, defined arbitrarily as individuals of age 16 and over who paid four or more fares in the average week. Because available resources limited us to a relatively small sample, heterogeneity in the sample was reduced by excluding those minority groups in the target audience which, for obvious reasons, could be expected to be especially receptive to the test cards' thematic contents, i.e., Negroes, Jews, and the foreign-born. The sample was, therefore,

¹ The preliminary report was read under the title "Social Dysfunction, Personality and Social Distance Attitudes" at the annual meeting of the American Sociological Society, September, 1951. The study was undertaken in the writer's capacity at the time as Director of Research and Program Evaluation in the Anti-Defamation League (ADL) of B'nai B'rith.

Although the report was given only limited distribution in mimeographed form, it has been drawn upon in the literature and has stimulated a number of studies. See Richard Christie and Marie Jahoda (editors), *Studies in the Scope and Method of "The Authoritarian Personality,"* Glencoe: The Free Press, 1954; Gordon W. Allport, *The Nature of Prejudice*, Cambridge: Addison-Wesley Press, 1954, pp. 225, 241; Gerhart Saenger, *The Social Psychology of Prejudice*, New York: Harper and Bros., 1953, pp. 138, 189.

² Robin Williams, *American Society*, New York: A. A. Knopf, 1951, pp. 513-545; Talcott Parsons, *The Social System*, Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1951; Talcott Parsons and Edward Shils (editors), *Toward a General Theory of Action*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1951; W. S. Landecker, "Types of Integration and Their Measurement," *American Journal of Sociology*, 56 (January, 1951), pp. 332-340.

³ Under auspices of Cornell University Medical College (Department of Psychiatry).

⁴ Its findings will be reported in a paper, "A Controlled Study of the Impact of Anti-Discrimination Advertising," to appear in a volume tentatively titled, "Case Studies in Applied Social Research," edited by Charles Glock.

delimited to white, Christian, native-born transit riders. By means of a "hybrid" sampling design combining randomized selection of blocks (within walking distance of transit lines) and age-sex quota selection of individuals within these blocks, 401 individuals between the ages of 16-69 (mean 40.3 years, SD 14.5 years) were interviewed in their homes.⁵

Differential audience "penetration" effects of the test transit cards were expected to be mediated by a number of intervening variables, e.g., prior attitudinal set toward minority groups. Accordingly, respondents were classified by degree of attitudinal acceptance or rejection of minority groups in general, on the basis of two different kinds of data in combination:

1. Responses to five structured social distance questionnaire items referring by indirection to Negroes, Jews, foreigners, etc.⁶
2. Spontaneous comments revealing underlying attitudes toward minority groups. These were unexpectedly elicited in many cases by the projective nature of the special versions of the posted car cards (text converted into hieroglyphics) used in the interview to test message recall.

It seems likely that unguarded, spontaneous comments elicited by projective-type pictorial stimuli, in combination with struc-

tured questionnaire items that avoided direct reference to minority groups, provide a relatively sensitive (i.e., valid) and reliable measure of attitudes toward such groups.⁷

Considerations of questionnaire design compelled placement of our structured attitudes-to-minorities items early in the instrument. Moreover, in order to divert respondent attention from their common, underlying element, these items were scattered among questions of quite different content. These diversionary items afforded a "hitch hike" opportunity to test hypotheses centering on Durkheim's concept of anomie. These hypotheses center on a pair of antinomic Greek terms, "eunomia" and "anomia." The former originally denoted a well ordered condition in a society or state, the latter its opposite. The two terms can be adapted with some license to refer to the continuum of variations in the "integratedness" of different social systems or sub-systems, viewed as molar wholes. They can also be applied to the parallel continuum of variations seen from the "microscopic" or molecular view of individuals as they are integrated in the total action fields of their interpersonal relationships and reference groups.

Although research employing the macroscopic approach to the phenomena of integration in large social systems has appeared

⁵ The design and selection of the sample, as well the field interviewing operation, were planned and executed by the Columbia University Bureau of Applied Social Research, under the direction of Charles Glock, Yorke Lucci, and Babette Kass, with a field staff experienced in sample survey interviewing. The questionnaire and overall research design were constructed by the writer, with the assistance of Thomas S. Langner, Anita Kassen Fischer, Alice Togo, and Columbia BASR staff. Jerrold Heiss performed the statistical operations for this paper.

⁶ The five agree-disagree items were:

(1) It is better for a child if he keeps to playmates of the same religious background as his own.

(2) There are a good many people in the U. S. who ought to go back to the countries they came from.

(3) It would be better all around if white children had swimming pools for themselves.

(4) Refugees from Nazi Germany should be kept out of the United States and sent to Palestine instead.

(5) In the South they have pretty much the right slant about having separate colleges for white students.

⁷ It should be noted how this combination was effected. Sorted first were the respondents who in their spontaneous comments revealed their underlying attitudes toward minority groups. Among such: (a) those who spoke only favorably of minority groups and who similarly gave favorable replies to at least four of the five structured items were placed in the Positive or "Tolerant" attitude category; (b) those who spoke only unfavorably of minority groups and who similarly gave unfavorable replies to at least four of the five structured items were placed in the Negative or "Prejudiced" attitude category; (c) all others spontaneously commenting favorably or unfavorably or both and giving "mixed replies" (two favorable and three unfavorable, or vice versa) to the five structured items were placed in the intermediate "Ambivalent" category.

Respondents who did not spontaneously reveal their attitudes toward minority groups could be classified only on their replies to the structured items, as follows: (a) four or five favorable replies—Positive; (b) two or three unfavorable replies—Ambivalent; (c) four or five unfavorable replies—Negative.

in recent years,⁸ it still presents formidable operational problems. On the other hand, the molecular approach has the advantage of being readily fitted to the established operational apparatus of the sample survey. With the molecular approach, the immediate analytical objective would be to place individuals on a eunomia-anomia continuum representing variations in interpersonal integration with their particular social fields as "global" entities. More concretely, this variable is conceived as referring to the individual's generalized, pervasive sense of "self-to-others belongingness" at one extreme compared with "self-to-others distance" and "self-to-others alienation" at the other pole of the continuum. For semantic neatness the terms eunomia-anomia are here used to refer specifically to this socio-psychological continuum.

It may clarify this conception of the eunomia-anomia dimension on the molecular level to note the likelihood that in the individual adult it covers more than the cumulative consequences of his particular integrations in his current social roles and groups. Specifically, three more inclusive sets of forces are also seen as operating in his contemporary situation.

1. Reference groups beyond his immediate field of action, within which acceptance and ultimate integration are sought.
2. Generalized qualities of the molar society penetrating his contemporary action field, as these affect (a) his life-goal choices, (b) his selection of means toward these goals, and (c) his success or failure in achieving these goals.
3. The socialization processes of his interpersonal relationships during childhood and adolescence, as these have conditioned the interpersonal expectations, value orientations, and behavioral tendencies of his current personality structure.

Accordingly, individual eunomia-anomia is viewed as a variable contemporary condition having its origin in the complex inter-

action of social⁹ and personality factors, present and past. In short, the condition is regarded as a variable dependent on both sociological and psychological processes. As such, it warrants direct attack in the wide-ranging strategy of research.¹⁰

This is not the place to explore systematically the relationship of the concept of anomia, under the definition here proposed, to cognate concepts. But two clarifying observations may be offered. First, in the writer's view "self-to-others alienation" may be regarded as the common element¹¹ in Durkheim's conceptualization of *anomie*,

⁹ Under the influence of the Cornell mental health investigation, the notion of the sociogenesis of individual anomia was refined to include the self-generated or psychogenic type of alienation from others. This, of course, extends the sociogenic time perspective to earlier stages of the life history when more narrowly localized social processes of a malintegrating kind set in motion psychopathological processes of alienation from self and others. Remaining of central interest, however, are the individuals entering adulthood as "normal" personalities but in whom anomia develops in response to objective conditions of stressful malintegration in their social worlds.

¹⁰ Operationally speaking, Robin Williams (*op. cit.*, p. 537) appears to take a dissenting position: "Anomie as a social condition has to be defined independently of the psychological states thought to accompany normlessness and normative conflict. . . . The basic model for explanatory purposes is: normative situation → psychological state → behavioral item or sequence." But in an interesting footnote he adds: "Strictly speaking, of course, the arrows should be written ↔: the relations are reciprocal." If the relations are reciprocal, as we concur, then the explanatory model is significantly altered. With such alteration, considerations of operational efficiency, rather than of a unidirectional causal theory, may dictate to the investigator at what point his research should break into the chain. Clearly, verbalizable psychological states of individuals and their situational concomitants are more readily accessible to the instruments of the researcher than is the operationally complicated cultural abstraction that Williams calls the "normative structure" and seems to predicate as the researcher's *necessary* point of first attack.

¹¹ This general point of view has been expressed by Ivan Belknap and Hiram J. Friedsam, "Age and Sex Categories as Sociological Variables in the Mental Disorders of Later Maturity," *American Sociological Review*, 14 (June, 1949), p. 369: "Ultimately, *suicide altruiste* may also be an anomic phenomenon, since the group actually extrudes the particular individual, providing no further 'place' for him. *Egoisme*, another of Durkheim's type of suicide is also perhaps significant only as a cause of *anomie*."

⁸ Among the most recent are: R. C. Angell, *The Moral Integration of American Cities*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1951; W. S. Landecker, *op. cit.*; Bernard Lander, *Toward an Understanding of Juvenile Delinquency*, New York: Columbia University Press, 1954.

egoisme, altruisme, and fatalisme as different but often overlapping forms of suicide. Second, there has been reflected among some social scientists a sense of the limited utility of Durkheim's specification of anomie as referring to the breakdown of those moral norms that limit desires and aspirations (a breakdown which he tended to associate with rather special "change of role" circumstances). This development has been accompanied by diversification in the usage of the term, in one direction toward convergence with the broader concepts of dysfunction and malintegration in molar social systems.¹² The convergence most closely approximating the definition proposed here is to be seen in (1) MacIver's definition of anomie as "the breakdown of the individual's sense of attachment to society"¹³ and (2) Lasswell's reading of the concept as referring to the "lack of identification on the part of the primary ego of the individual with a 'self' that includes others. In a word, modern man appeared to be suffering from psychic isolation. He felt alone, cut off, unwanted, unloved, unvalued."¹⁴

The hypothesis within our framework that lent itself to testing in the Springfield study was this: social malintegration, or anomia, in individuals is associated with a rejective orientation toward out-groups in general and toward minority groups in particular.¹⁵ To test this hypothesis it was necessary to devise a measure of interpersonal alienation or "anomia." This, we reasoned, could be constructed in opinion-poll format to represent, directly or indirectly, the respondent's definition or perception of his

own interpersonal situation. To this end, we set down the ideational states or components that on theoretical grounds would represent internalized counterparts or reflections, in the individual's life situation, of conditions of social dysfunction. Five components from the larger series were selected for inclusion in the study. For each, "opinion" type statements of the simple agree-disagree type were framed and pretested (for verbal clarity and response distributions) in fifty interviews. From the pretest experience we selected one item which, with subsequent revisions, finally represented each anomia component in the Springfield questionnaire.¹⁶

The first of these postulated components was the individual's sense that community leaders are detached from and indifferent to his needs, reflecting severance of the interdependent bond within the social system between leaders and those they should represent and serve. The item selected to represent this component was the agree-disagree statement, "There's little use writing to public officials because often they aren't really interested in the problems of the average man."

The second hypothesized element of anomia was the individual's perception of the social order as essentially fickle and unpredictable, i.e., orderless, inducing the sense that under such conditions he can accomplish little toward realizing future life goals. The item that seemed to come closest to this facet of anomia was the Epicurean statement, "Nowadays a person has to live pretty much for today and let tomorrow take care of itself."

Closely related to this aspect of anomia was a third element: the individual's view, beyond abdication of future life goals, that he and people like him are retrogressing from

¹² An outstanding example is provided in Robert K. Merton's "Social Structure and Anomie: Revisions and Extensions" in his *Social Theory and Social Structure*, Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1949.

¹³ Robert M. MacIver, *The Ramparts We Guard*, New York: The Macmillan Co., 1950, pp. 84-92.

¹⁴ Harold Lasswell, "The Threat to Privacy" in Robert M. MacIver (editor), *Conflict of Loyalties*, New York: Harper and Bros., 1952.

¹⁵ Williams (*op. cit.*, p. 536) independently arrived at substantially the same hypothesis: "It is enough to note here one possible connection between anomic conditions and problems of intergroup, or intercategory, relations. . . . [Anomie] is a context highly favorable to rigidly categorical definition of out-groups."

¹⁶ John Harding has called our attention to the work of Rundquist and Sletto with a series of questionnaire items devised to measure generalized "morale." Examination of these items revealed their affinity with some of our anomia questions. There was, however, considerable divergence in the two theoretical frameworks. Cf. Edward A. Rundquist and Raymond F. Sletto, *Personality in the Depression*, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1936. Consideration of anomia in relation to cognate concepts like "morale" is being reserved for a later publication.

the goals they have already reached. The item chosen to represent this component was the statement rejecting the American Creed doctrine of progress: "In spite of what some people say, the lot of the average man is getting worse, not better."

The fourth component postulated, and the one perhaps most closely approximating Durkheim's particular definition of anomie, was the deflation or loss of internalized social norms and values, reflected in extreme form in the individual's sense of the meaninglessness of life itself. Standing for this element was the item proposition: "It's hardly fair to bring children into the world with the way things look for the future."

The final anomia component was hypothesized as the individual's perception that his framework of immediate personal relationships, the very rock of his social existence, was no longer predictive or supportive, and was expressed by the item worded: "These days a person doesn't really know whom he can count on."

The writer would indicate a critical awareness of the exploratory character of and limitations in this attempt to translate the anomia concept into a researchable opinion-survey type measure. Specifically: (1) Several of the items, with benefit of hindsight, are open to improvement. (2) Our series of postulated components of anomia exceeded five, but the questionnaire could not accommodate more. (3) Each of the five components probably would have been better represented by a series of items comprising a sub-scale, particularly as the necessary relationship of certain of the items to their respective hypothesized components was not yet established. (4) The items seemed to have face validity as a measure of anomia, but lacked a formal validation test, a consideration to which we return below.

After deciding on the inclusion of the five anomia items in the Springfield questionnaire, it became clear to us that we would also have to control analytically for the authoritarian personality factor, as measured in the California Study,¹⁷ if we were to test adequately the hypothesis that orientation

toward minority groups is related to the factor assumed to be reflected in our measure of anomia. For this specific purpose we incorporated into the questionnaire a shortened five-item version of the California F scale of authoritarianism.¹⁸ Replication of the California study was not intended.

In the interview, the fifteen items of the anomia, authoritarianism, and attitudes-to-minorities measures were all presented to the respondent as "opinion statements" with which he could either agree or disagree. As was expected and provided for in the pre-coded list of possible replies available to the interviewer for checking, some respondents gave qualified or "can't decide" answers. In the scoring system, we applied the severe criterion that only an unequivocal "agree" (score values, 1) to an item was to be counted in the score of its particular measure. Thus, for the anomia (A) and authoritarianism (F) measures, the respondent's score falls in a range from zero to five.

The three-way minority attitudes classification, designated the "M" measure, is based, as noted earlier, on scored replies to five structured questionnaire items in combination with revealing spontaneous comments elicited by the textually masked test cards used in the interview. The final score range for this classificatory scheme is zero to two.

¹⁸ This version had been developed by the Department of Scientific Research in the American Jewish Committee, sponsor of the California study, for use in its own research program. Toward its development, the original thirty items in the F scale were reworded or recast (to render them more comprehensible to people of low education) and applied in pre-tests of community sample studies conducted in Minneapolis and Baltimore. Latent structure analysis of the data on these thirty items revealed that only five of the items met the specifications of unidimensionality. These were included unaltered in the Springfield questionnaire with the permission, here gratefully acknowledged, of Samuel Flowerman, then Research Director of AJC. The items are as follows:

- (1) The most important thing to teach children is absolute obedience to their parents.
- (2) Any good leader should be strict with people under him in order to gain their respect.
- (3) There are two kinds of people in the world: the weak and the strong.
- (4) Prison is too good for sex criminals. They should be publicly whipped or worse.
- (5) No decent man can respect a woman who has had sex relations before marriage.

¹⁷ T. W. Adorno, E. Frenkel-Brunswick, Daniel J. Levinson and R. Nevitt Sanford, *The Authoritarian Personality*, New York: Harper and Bros., 1950.

FINDINGS

The distributions of the Springfield sample on the A, F, and M measures appear in Table 1. Data on the five items of the anomia measure have been assessed by the procedures of latent structure analysis, designed to determine whether as an entity they

TABLE 1. DISTRIBUTION OF THE SPRINGFIELD SAMPLE (N=401) ON THE THREE MEASURES OF A, F, AND M, IN PER CENT

Score	Anomia (A)	Authoritarianism (F)
0	16	18
1	25	17
2	20	20
3	21	23
4	13	13
5	5	9
Total	100	100

Score	Attitudes toward Minorities (M)
0 Positive ("Tolerant")	44
1 Ambivalent ("Borderline")	36
2 Negative ("Prejudiced")	20
Total	100

contain one or several underlying "attributes" or dimensions. It was found that they satisfy the criteria of unidimensionality, i.e., comprise one latent continuum. It is relevant to add that from New York City data gathered by the Cornell community mental health study, the writer's associate, Thomas Langner, has established that the same five anomia items satisfy the requirements of a Guttman-type scale. On two sets of evidence, therefore, we have grounds for referring to the anomia item series as a scale.¹⁹

In the Springfield sample a Pearson correlation of $+ .45$ was found between the full

¹⁹ The A scale's unidimensionality suggests that it measures a single universe of content, which is one criterion of test reliability. Until a validation test is made against an independent criterion, the variable measured by the A scale should perhaps be designated as factor X. However, a clue to its validity is found in a datum from the current NYC study, involving a geographic probability sample of 1660 resident adults. A single indicator of latent suicide tendency was the agree-disagree item: "You sometimes can't help wondering whether anything is worthwhile anymore." The correlation between this item and A scale scores is expressed by a tetrachoric coefficient of .50.

range of scores on the A and F measures.²⁰ This was high enough to raise the question whether the two sets of items measure the same latent attribute. Starting from the inter-item correlations among the ten A and F items, the hypothesis was tested that the two sets of items measure the same attribute. A latent structure analysis, performed by Peter Rossi and Lotte Lazarsfeld Bailyn, established that the two sets of items measure not one but two relatively discrete latent continua.²¹

The hypothesis motivating the construction and inclusion of the A scale in the Springfield study was that anomia is a factor related to the formation of negative, rejective attitudes toward minority groups. The Pearson correlation actually found in the Springfield data between A scores and M was $+ .43$, supporting the hypothesis.

The F scale was introduced into the study design to control for the factor of authoritarian personality trends, known previously to be associated with attitudes to minorities. In Springfield, we found a Pearson correlation of $+ .29$ between F scores and M.²²

²⁰ This correlation offers general support to Williams' observation (*op. cit.*, p. 535) that "it seems [anomic] lostness is one of the basic conditions out of which some types of political totalitarianism emerge."

²¹ A proper question can be raised about the equivalence of the full thirty-item California F scale and the AJC five-item version employed in Springfield. It is now clear that the former is heterogeneous in content. This has been established both by factor analysis (W. M. O'Neil and Daniel J. Levinson, "A Factorial Exploration of Authoritarianism and Some of Its Ideological Concomitants," *Journal of Personality*, 22, June 1954, pp. 449-463) and by latent structure analysis (the unpublished AJC studies).

On the other hand, by the method of latent structure analysis the AJC studies have established the unidimensionality of the short F scale, with confirmation offered by the Springfield study. It can be concluded that the short version is a "purer" and therefore probably more reliable measure of the common universe of content. If it is more reliable, then assuming all other factors to be equal it could be expected to also be more valid. To determine whether all other factors bearing on validity are equal would require a new study evaluating the long and short versions for their relative discriminative powers against the variable to be predicted. Until such a study is made, the question of the equivalence of the two versions of the F scale will remain open.

²² For a sample of 401, the .01 level of confidence is achieved with an r of .13 or more.

As to the significance of the difference between the A-M correlation of .43 and the F-M correlation of .29, application of the "t"-test of significance produces a "t" value of 3.11. To meet the requirements of the .05 level of confidence, the "t" value should be 3.18. For all practical purposes, therefore, we can accept the difference between the two correlations as being statistically significant.²³

Although lacking any basis for hypothesizing about the expected relationship of anomia scores and M when F scores are controlled, we were interested in the direction of this relationship. By the method of partial correlation, we have found that the correlation of .43 between A and M is negligibly reduced to .35 when F scores are partialled out. Thus, we can conclude that in our sample population anomia scores are related to attitudes toward minorities *independently* of the personality trends measured by the authoritarianism scale.

We next asked the question of the relationship of F scores and M when A scores are held constant. Again by the method of partial correlation, we find that when A scores are partialled out, the correlation of .29 between F and M is reduced to .12. We could conclude, therefore, that in our sample the correlation between authoritarian personality trends and attitudes toward minorities is partially accounted for by the anomia factor, i.e., F scores do *not* stand in a close relationship to M *independently* of the anomia factor.

We had originally hypothesized that the anomia factor would be significantly related in an inverse direction to socioeconomic status. In the Springfield interview, we accordingly asked for respondent's education and occupation of head of household, in order to combine them, equally weighted, into a composite status score. On the basis of the score distribution the sample was classified into three SES strata. Applying this measure of socioeconomic status, we find a Pearson correlation between A scores and SES of $-.30$, supporting the hypothesis. The corresponding correlation of F scores and SES is $-.22$; and of M and SES, $-.14$.

TABLE 2. PEARSON PRODUCT MOMENT CORRELATIONS OF A AND M, F AND M IN THREE SES STRATA

	Low (N=139)	Middle (N=163)	High (N=97)
A and M	.44*	.42*	.47*
F and M	.20†	.34*	.29*

* Significant at or beyond .01 level of confidence.

† Significant at .02 level of confidence.

Apparently then, in our sample population attitudes toward minority groups are to only a small degree a function of the status variable, whereas anomia is to a moderate degree, and authoritarian personality tendencies to an extent intermediate between A and M.

For each SES stratum separately we have computed first the Pearson correlation of A and M and next the correlation of F and M. These coefficients are presented in Table 2. In the separate correlations of A and F with M, we find almost identical coefficients in the Middle stratum, but appreciable differences in the two extreme strata.

However, with A and F themselves correlated (.45) we must take the step in each stratum of disentangling their separate relationships to M independently of each other. This has been accomplished by the method of partial correlation, giving us the coefficients for A and M with F controlled, and for F and M with A controlled. These are recorded in Table 3. The picture now becomes sharpened. With the F factor partialled out, the correlation between A and M remains more or less intact in all three strata. On the other hand, with A controlled, the correlation between F and M in the Low stratum is nearly extinguished; in the Middle and High strata the correlation is considerably reduced, but F retains value as a secondary factor contributing independently to M.

Of course, these data reflect the fact that in all three strata respondents high in A scores and low in F lean toward negative

TABLE 3. PARTIAL CORRELATIONS OF A, F, AND M IN THREE SES STRATA

	Low	Middle	High
r AM·F	.40	.32	.40
r FM·A	.03	.16	.12

²³ Helen M. Walker and Joseph Lev, *Statistical Inference*, New York: Henry Holt, 1953, p. 257.

minority group orientations, whereas those high in F scores and low in A tend more toward positive orientations. Whether these tendencies obtain in other kinds of populations, or with other measures of the F and M factors, remains for further research to illuminate.

DISCUSSION

In an exploratory study such as this, caution dictates that the findings be weighed principally on the scale of their suggestive potentialities. Space does not permit us to define and evaluate the many questions inherent in the concepts, hypotheses and data presented in this paper.²⁴ However, several brief observations may be offered.

Recent unpublished research by others, and by the writer and his Cornell associates, in applying the A scale or adaptations of it have established significant connections between this measure of individual anomia and such diverse phenomena as social isolation among the aged, certain specific forms of psychopathology among metropolitan adults, the life threat represented by the exogenous condition of rheumatic heart disease, adolescents living in areas marked by different rates of drug addiction, etc.

These studies, by their cumulative weight, support the general hypothesis of an interactive process linking the individual state of anomia and interpersonal dysfunction in the social realm.

Of special interest in the Springfield data is the isolation of anomic states and authoritarian personality trends as relatively discrete dimensions that are closely related to

each other, a finding corroborated by our current New York City study. It could be predicted of course that a personality with authoritarian tendencies bred in the family of origin would tend to be a "misfit" in a democratic social system, thereby generating the conditions both in itself and in the interpersonal milieu, that give rise to one type of self-to-others alienation.

On the other hand, we would follow Fromm and Merton²⁵ in hypothesizing a second kind of developmental sequence. To Fromm, among personalities basically "fitted" for a democratic society, escape reactions from socially generated "aloneness" and "helplessness" (i.e. individual anomia) may issue either in authoritarianism or "compulsive conformity." For Merton, individual "modes of adaptation" to dysfunctional "contradictions in the cultural and social structure" are differentiated on the basis of a more systematic and comprehensive typology of deviancy, including "ritualism" hypothesized as a dominant type. To freely paraphrase both writers, social dysfunction is the independent variable, the individual's state of self-to-group alienation is the intervening variable, and change in personality (Fromm) or adaptive modes (Merton) is the dependent variable.

As a closing note, there appears to be a trend among social scientists toward convergence of interest in the phenomena of social integration. Equipped with the advances of the past decade in theory and research technology, this trend gives promise of accelerating the scientific attack, powerfully and single-handedly launched by Emile Durkheim more than a half-century ago, on one of the most pervasive and potentially dangerous aspects of Western society, namely, the deterioration in the social and moral ties that bind, sustain and free us.

²⁴ It is hoped that further research will yield answers to these questions. The five A scale items employed in both the Springfield and New York investigations, together with the five new anomia items constructed for the latter study, will be made available by the writer to social scientists who may wish to undertake such research.

²⁵ *Escape from Freedom*, New York: Rinehart and Co., 1941, pp. 136-206; Merton, *op. cit.*

THE SOCIAL SIGNIFICANCE OF CARD PLAYING AS A LEISURE TIME ACTIVITY *

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CARD playing is one of the most pervasive and persistent games played in the United States. A majority of Americans play cards, 56 per cent of a national sample reporting that they play cards either regularly or occasionally.¹ Another national survey revealed that cards are played in 87 per cent of American homes and that 83 per cent of American families play cards.² Over fifty million decks of playing cards can be expected to be sold annually, with a fad—such as the canasta fad in 1950—raising the total to over eighty million decks.³ Twenty per cent of the men and 18 per cent of the women of a national sample named card playing as one of their two or three favorite activities.⁴ Most significantly, the number of card decks sold per hundred population has increased from twenty-two to over thirty during the past fifty years—that is, precisely during the period in which mass media and commercial activities underwent their greatest expansion.⁵

The confirmation of the popular image identifying card playing with gambling would be presumptive proof of a moral debilitation of the structure of American society. In order to test this belief, a study

was designed to investigate exactly what role card playing performs in the leisure lives of Americans.⁶ The study was conducted in a single community, Endicott, New York; therefore, it might be maintained that the findings are not immediately applicable to the entire nation. However, Endicott shares with the rest of the country the experience of rapid industrialization, urbanization, and metropolitanization, with all the attendant effects upon social stratification and social organization. Economically, it is part of the national market, while socially its characteristic modes of leisure are congruent with national patterns. More specifically, 57 per cent of the adult population of Endicott plays cards, almost identical with the national percentage; the same card games played nationally are played locally; and probably the same proportion as the national figure considers card playing as one of its favorite activities.⁷ Consequently, we are justified in making the heuristic assumption that whatever conclusions we reach concerning the functions of card playing in Endicott are applicable to the rest of the nation.

A survey, using a systematic 11 per cent sample of the adult population, revealed significant characteristics of card players and the conditions under which they played cards. The attitudes that card players have toward the game are one indicator of the place that card playing has in their lives. To get a rough index of such attitudes, the survey sample was asked whether card playing was their favorite pastime, whether it was

* Revised version of paper read at the annual meeting of the American Sociological Society, September, 1956.

¹ American Institute of Public Opinion poll, December 13, 1947, *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 12 (Spring, 1948), p. 148.

² "Playing Cards—A National Survey," *Hobbies*, 47 (December, 1942), p. 12.

³ *Facts and Figures on Government Finance, 1950-51*, New York: The Tax Foundation, 1950, p. 131.

⁴ The Fortune Poll, March 1949, *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 13 (Summer, 1949), p. 354.

⁵ Jesse Steiner, *Americans at Play*, New York: McGraw-Hill, 1933, p. 138; tax receipts reported in *Facts and Figures on Government Finance, 1950-51*, op. cit.; tax receipts reported in *The Budget of the U. S. Government for the Fiscal Year Ending June 30, 1953*, Washington, D. C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1952, p. 1161.

⁶ Irving Crespi, "A Functional Analysis of Card Playing as a Leisure Time Activity," unpublished dissertation, New School for Social Research, June 1955. Hans Staudinger and Arvid Brodersen, of The Graduate Faculty of The New School, were of invaluable assistance in the formulation of the research design and the adaptation of analytical concepts.

⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 20-28, 35, 51-53, 54, for a full description of these characteristics of Endicott.

one of the things they liked doing very much although not their favorite, whether they thought it was a nice way to spend time, whether they play when there is nothing else to do, or whether they play the game occasionally even though they do not really like the game. The intensity of interest in card playing, as measured by these items, was correlated with frequency of playing (See Table 1). The coefficient of correlation, .47, is statistically significant ($P < .01$) but low enough to suggest that factors other than

indicate that these other factors have their root in primary group affiliations. Card players as contrasted with non-players tend significantly to be married (See Table 2). Furthermore, given the proportion of married people in the total sample who play cards, the proportion of spouses of card players who also play cards is greater than is to be expected through chance alone. The proportion of married men who play cards is .66 while the proportion of married card-playing women whose husbands play cards is .85. The com-

TABLE 1. CORRELATION BETWEEN INTENSITY OF INTEREST IN CARD PLAYING AND FREQUENCY OF PLAYING

Intensity of Interest	Frequency of Playing					Total	
	Three Times or More a Week	Once or Twice a Week	Two or Three Times a Month	Once a Month	Less Often	Number	Per Cent
Favorite	10	15	1	1	—	27	10
Like very much	12	33	11	6	1	63	22
Nice	11	43	31	16	12	113	41
Nothing else to do	2	13	12	9	8	44	16
Don't like	—	5	6	8	9	28	10
Total	35	109	61	40	30	275	100*

* N=279, Includes 1 per cent "no answer."

interest in the game are important determinants of how frequently card players actually play.

Undoubtedly, one of the factors accounting for the statistical significance of the correlation coefficient is the fact that the attitude items are partial indicators of frequency of playing. If a person says that an activity is a favorite of his, it is only natural that he will engage in it as often as possible. This is why almost all who say that card playing is their favorite activity play at least once a week. Similarly, the fact that most of those who say that they do not really like card playing also say that they play less than once a week is hardly surprising. But what is surprising is that the majority of card players who play at least once a week indicate that they have no more than a moderate interest in card playing. The high frequency with which these card players play cannot be satisfactorily explained unless we account for it by factors other than interest in the game itself.

The distinguishing characteristics of card players, the persons with whom cards are played, and the locus of card playing all in-

parable proportions of married women who play cards and of married card-playing men whose wives play cards are .47 and .65 respectively. The significance of the primary group relationship is further attested to by the fact that there is a significant relationship between being a card player and having relatives and having close friends who play cards (See Tables 3 and 4).

The fact that card playing is most often an activity carried on by primary groups is established when we consider with whom card players play and where. Only 7 per cent of the card players reported that they play with people they have met at card games.

TABLE 2. COMPARISON OF CARD PLAYERS AND NON-CARD PLAYERS BY MARITAL STATUS

Marital Status	Card Players	Non-Card Players	Total
Single	24	29	53
Married	230	155	385
Divorced and Widowed	21	22	43
Total	275	206	481

$\chi^2=5.33$ Approaches significance at .02 level.

TABLE 3. ASSOCIATION BETWEEN BEING A CARD PLAYER AND HAVING CLOSE RELATIVES WHO PLAY CARDS

Respondents	Relatives Play Cards	Relatives Don't Play Cards	Total
Card Players	243	33	276
Non-Card Players	90	116	206
Total	333	149	482

$\chi^2=109.10$ Significant at .001 level.
C=.60.

Friends are mentioned by 83 per cent, relatives by 67 per cent, and neighbors by 44 per cent. The locale of card playing is in the greatest number of cases where primary groups are to be found as a matter of course. Eighty-seven per cent of the card players said that they usually play in their own homes, and 73 per cent in the homes of their friends. Twenty-one per cent mentioned public card parties and only 2 per cent, tournaments. We can only conclude that card playing is most often engaged in by families and friends in each others homes. That is to say, card playing is pre-eminently a primary group activity.

The fact that cards are most characteristically played by primary groups rather than by groups formed specifically for the purpose of playing is of major significance. If card playing is to be understood as a gambling activity, the moral integration of these groups, inferentially, is minimal. However, such does not seem to be the case. A series of fifty-one intensive interviews with card players was conducted to uncover underlying motives for card playing and the nature of involvement in card playing. In this way, the sociological functions of card playing could be ascertained. The protocols of these inter-

views disclose that it is not gambling but the primary group which is the underlying factor explaining why and how most card players participate in the game.

A number of motives for playing can be delineated:

1. Motives directly related to the game itself and to the outcome of the game; the game or the rewards of winning are what attract the player.

2. Motives related to the fact that the group affiliation needs of the individual players can be satisfied while playing cards. What the player wants in these cases is the type of group life that card playing makes possible.

3. Motives related to the social status values that have become associated with card playing. What the player seeks here is the social acceptance, recognition, and even prestige that card playing bestows in certain situations.

The first motivational type of card player can be considered the gambler. He plays cards for the monetary reward that success brings: he has a lust to win a fortune through card playing. One man who plays regularly in a group in which losses up to two hundred dollars in one evening are possible commented:

The fellows I play with play for the sole purpose of winning. Social bridge has a different atmosphere compared with a poker game. Big stakes have the lure of money. I compare it to watching amateur and professional teams. One is the real thing.

In Endicott it appears that only a small minority of card players are gamblers. Only 23 per cent of the survey sample said that they play cards for money stakes, and not all of these are gamblers.

It might be objected that some respondents did not answer honestly because gambling is illegal. However it appears that most card players who play for money stakes do not do so in the hope of winning a large amount of money. Typically, they play for stakes so small that they cannot possibly entertain the thought of significantly adding to their income through winning at cards. Illustrative of such players are the following comments:

I get a lot of satisfaction at cards playing for pennies. I don't win or lose much, but I get a thrill.

TABLE 4. ASSOCIATION BETWEEN BEING A CARD PLAYER AND HAVING BEST FRIENDS WHO PLAY CARDS

Respondents	Best Friends Play Cards	Best Friends Don't Play Cards	Total
Card Players	257	18	275
Non-Card Players	108	99	207
Total	365	117	482

$\chi^2=109.72$ Significant at .001 level.
C=.61.

We play for small stakes. The idea is not to win or lose a great deal. We can't afford it and it might create animosity . . . I am a mediocre player. Some of the others are excellent . . . We start playing immediately. The bastards are all after my money.

Playing for a monetary prize is an exciting and stimulating experience to players like these. Still gambling, because of their fear of losing, their mediocre playing, or their desire to avoid personal enmity, is "too rich for their blood." These players are "prize players" rather than gamblers. Even if we were to grant that more than one-fourth of the card players in Endicott habitually play cards for money stakes, we would, according to these observations, be correct to say that only a small minority are gamblers.

A small category of card players are "skill players," who are attracted by the challenge of trying to win at cards through skilled performance. They seek to demonstrate their mastery of the necessary skills and, if possible, their skill superiority. Skill players, of necessity, play frequently and, by preference, with others who are also highly skilled. They confine their playing to games, such as bridge, which are intrinsically difficult enough to present a continuing challenge. Obviously, they can comprise only the small minority of card players who play very frequently and who consider cards a favorite.

The greatest proportion of card players are those included in the types "group player," "group-game player," "social player," and "accidental player." Group players like to play cards because it enables them to experience the conviviality that stems from playing a game with people with whom they want to spend their leisure time. In fact, few have any interest in attaining a level of skilled proficiency:

Cards are a universal game. It is something to pass the time. We play for the enjoyment of the game and the spirit of companionship. In a crowd it is the most congenial game.

I play poker not for the game but for the social relationships, getting together with friends, relaxation. Bridge is more difficult. You have to concentrate on the game. That takes the pleasure from playing.

The 41 per cent of the survey sample who said that card playing is a nice way to spend

time, as well as the 16 per cent who said that they play cards when they have nothing else to do, are probably almost all of this type (See Table 1).

Group players feel that card playing is a congenial and entertaining way of being in groups for a number of reasons. One is the "atmosphere" of the game situation. Whether it is a group of relatives, a public card party, a male friendship group, or a gathering of married couples, players repeatedly mention that the card playing situation has an air of friendliness and getting together in a group to enjoy themselves. Furthermore, the card game, by holding the group together in a common activity with a narrow focus of interest, acts as a substitute for conversation.⁸ In this way group relationships among friends and relatives who have talked themselves out are eased. The basic contribution that the individual has to make once playing commences is to play more or less adequately; he is thus relieved of the personality demands of making conversation. By relaxing the tension resulting from boredom, card playing transforms the obligation of being a group member into an enjoyable opportunity to play a game. As an inexpensive and convenient alternative to "going out," card playing also holds some attractiveness. Finally, involvement in the process of competing to win, which sometimes reaches a high pitch, converts the players into impersonal technicians; in so doing, the card game facilitates the forgetting of personal worries and obligations. In this sense, it is a relaxing activity.

What card playing does, then is to permit families and friends to gather in the informal atmosphere of their homes in an inexpensive, relaxing, entertaining, and personally undemanding manner.

Intermediary between the group player, as we have described him, and those who are motivated by the game played for its own sake is the group-game player. Such players

⁸ The Lynds observed that in Middletown the vogue for bridge playing might be ascribable in part to a desire not to concentrate conversation on a single topic and to the monotony of small talk. See Robert S. Lynd and Helen M. Lynd, *Middletown in Transition*, New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1937, p. 270. This study has investigated why bridge, and other card games, can perform this substitutive function. See Crespi, *op. cit.*, Chapter 4.

are equally motivated by the challenge of the game and the desire to win on one hand and the group values of playing on the other. One such player, for example, commented:

I'm glad I learned to play cards. If a person can't play cards he is out of place in a crowd. I like cards as a game though I am not addicted to it. I like trying to win and the spirit of companionship.

Players of this type derive a dual gratification from playing cards. They are actively entertained in the group situation and so enjoy spending time with groups composed of relatives and friends. They also acquire a sense of satisfaction from having performed well in a technically demanding activity or having won money bet on an uncertain outcome. Most of the 22 per cent of the survey sample who said that they like card playing "very much" are probably of this type.

Social players are those who consider card playing a "social asset." They have discovered that by playing cards they can participate in the activities of groups that have social status value. They contend that the non-player is automatically cut off from much of the social life of the community. A few even recommend learning how to play cards in order to avoid social isolation.

There are three types of group situations in which card playing has a social status function. They are women's card clubs, public card parties, and the gatherings of married couples who have high-class status. In all of these situations card playing is the mode of meeting, although involvement in playing is seldom developed to any appreciable degree, to the disgust of those few who are interested in playing the game. Card playing is a social asset in that the non-player is automatically restricted from entry to these groups. Hence, the opportunities to participate in the leisure time life of an appreciable portion of the higher social strata is reduced. The categories of group player and social player overlap to some degree. An analysis of the distinguishing characteristics of card players suggests that possibly one-fifth of all card players can be included in this category.

Those card players for whom the group quality of card playing is the only reason for playing the game have been called "acci-

dental players." The game itself is not only of no interest to them, it may even be obnoxious. Illustrative of this type of player is the following:

I definitely consider myself a non-card player. I avoid card games like the plague. Actually, I've played often with my aunt and uncle who love to play. I've been forced to play by the social situation. There's no way out.

Card players such as this woman never play if not forced to by their desire to belong, or felt obligation, to the group. They adjust to the specific group situation, sacrificing their personal pleasure. Some of these accidental players actually play often because members of their family or their friends play frequently. Judging from the responses to the survey schedule, 10 per cent of the card playing population—those who said they play even though they do not like the game—are accidental players.

This analysis of motives for playing cards demonstrates that it is the group intensification effect of card playing that underlies its being such a persistently widespread primary group activity. Gamblers and skill players, in an attempt to justify their intense interest in the activity, often maintain that only a minority of card players are not fully committed to playing cards for its own sake. Yet, in fact, it is they—the gamblers and skill players—who are the minority.

The great majority of card players, in opposition to popular misconceptions, play cards because they have discovered it to be an enjoyable and relaxing way of being together with friends and families and one which results in the strengthening of group ties. Another inducement to play cards is that the individual can hope to achieve acceptance into groups which will enhance his social position. We must conclude that card playing in Endicott, and probably in all of the United States, is essentially a group phenomenon and not a manifestation of social disorganization. The prevalence of card playing reflects not moral degeneracy but the struggle of primary groups to maintain their viability in the contemporary scene. Eager for friendliness and easy congeniality, many Americans appear to be incapable of generating such relationships without the artificial stimulation of impersonal, competitive group games.

DOES LITERATURE REFLECT COMMON VALUES?

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THE relationship of literature and society has been variously conceived. Three general assumptions are that literature reflects society and culture, that it serves as a means of social control, and that it influences attitudes and behavior of people in ways considered in some respects desirable, in others undesirable.¹ For the present article, research was oriented to the reflection theory.

Like other arts, literature has in the past been assumed to reflect cultural norms and values, the ethos and the stresses of a society, the process of dialectical materialism, and the historical development of a society or culture.² Recently, divorce and prejudice in fiction have been studied, and some research has attempted to determine agreement between literary content and statistical data on occupations and population distribution in the United States.³ The results have pointed to an emphasis on widespread American attitudes and ideals, reinforcing the idea that literature reflects common cultural values. It is this conception, also, which is logically consistent with the theory of social control.⁴ The present research was focused, consequently, on the problem of literature reflecting cultural norms and values. It was limited, however, to the area of the American family and to short stories in large circulation magazines.

The principal hypothesis was that short stories read by large audiences, even though representing distinct reading levels, will ex-

press essentially the same basic values and ideals of the American family. It was anticipated, nevertheless, that variations in selection and emphasis of these values would occur among the several levels, derived probably from sub-cultural differences, but the precise nature of these variations was not predicted. This aspect of the study was regarded as exploratory.

The magazines should obviously represent as distinct cultural reading strata or social classes as possible. Warner's ranking of magazines according to their popularity in each of the six social classes was relied on chiefly.⁵ His general results are strongly supported, for middle and lower levels especially, by Kass's technique of overlapping reading, which in turn has a high correlation with the ranking of cultural levels of magazines by the judgment of experts.⁶ On the basis of these studies, *True Story* and *True Confessions* were selected for the lower level, the *American* and the *Saturday Evening Post* for the middle level, the *Atlantic* and the *New Yorker* for the upper level. Sampling was limited to issues for the year 1950 and included only "regular" short stories.⁷

⁵ W. L. Warner and P. S. Lunt, *The Social Life of a Modern Community*, New York: Harcourt Brace and Company, 1941, pp. 386-406.

⁶ B. Kass, "Overlapping Magazine Reading: A New Method of Determining the Cultural Levels," in P. Lazarsfeld and F. Stanton, *Communications Research, 1948-49*, New York, Harper and Brothers, 1949, pp. 130-151. See also W. L. Morgan and A. M. Leahy, "The Cultural Content of General Interest Magazines," *Journal of Educational Psychology*, 25 (October, 1934), pp. 530-536; W. A. Kerr and H. H. Remmers, "Cultural Value of 100 Representative Magazines," *School and Society*, 54 (November, 1941), pp. 476-480; J. H. Foster, "An Approach to Fiction Through the Characteristics of Its Readers," *Library Quarterly*, 6 (April, 1936), pp. 124-174.

⁷ The year 1950 was selected for its avoidance of war influences and its closeness to recent research on cultural reading levels as well as on families. Omitted from the sample were "book-lengths," "short-shorts," serials, autobiographical reminiscences and informational pieces in the guise of fiction.

¹ M. C. Albrecht, "The Relationship of Literature and Society," *American Journal of Sociology*, 59 (March, 1954), pp. 425-436.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 425-431.

³ See J. H. Barnett and R. Gruen, "Recent American Divorce Novels, 1938-1945," *Social Forces*, 26 (March, 1948), pp. 332-337; B. Berelson and P. Salter, "Majority and Minority Americans: An Analysis of Magazine Fiction," *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 10 (Summer, 1946), pp. 168-190; R. Inglis, "An Objective Approach to the Relationship Between Fiction and Society," *American Sociological Review*, 3 (August, 1938), pp. 526-531.

⁴ Albrecht, *op. cit.*, pp. 430-431.

In order to avoid the fallacy of assuming that values found concentrated in fiction must inevitably be widespread in society, a framework derived from sources independent of literary materials was necessary. For this framework the "configurations" of Sirjamaki were chosen, although his list of eight was modified slightly and extended to ten moral ideas or values of the American family,⁸ stated as follows:

1. Marriage is a dominating life goal, for men as well as for women.
2. Marriage should be based on personal affection and on individual choice.
3. The family should be a small independent unit, having a home of its own.
4. The exercise of sex should be contained within wedlock.
5. The criterion of successful marriage is personal happiness of husband and wife.
6. Marriage should be monogamous and permanent, but if mates are very unhappy, divorce is sanctioned.
7. The family roles of husband and wife should be based on a sexual division of labor, but with male status superior.
8. Individual values are esteemed in family living, though affection should be strong.
9. Children should be reared in a child's world and shielded from too early participation in adult woes and tribulations.
10. The best years of life are those of youth, and its qualities are the most desirable.

To prevent selective bias and to test as fully as possible for values other than those listed, two or more alternatives for each of the ten were formulated which modified and opposed the original statement. Alternatives

for marriage being a dominant goal, for example, are that marriage is less important than a successful career, that marriage should be rejected as too limiting emotionally and too restricting in terms of mobility, and that love should be a dominating goal, avoiding marriage.

Whenever possible, modifications were drawn from values known to occur among groups at one or another social level. An alternative to marriage being based on personal affection and individual choice is that marriage should be based primarily on parental preference and in-group solidarity—values fostered by upper-class families.⁹ Or, instead of the exercise of sex being contained within wedlock, that the exercise of sex outside of wedlock should be permissible or condoned, that the exercise of sex before, if not after, marriage is expected. These alternatives were derived in part from Whyte's "A Slum Sex Code" and from other studies.¹⁰ Alternatives for each of the ten original statements were formulated in the same way.

A schedule was devised of the original ten, together with the sets of alternatives. The sample totaled 189 stories, from which 36 were discarded as inappropriate in content or setting, leaving a final sample of 153 stories: 62 from the lower level, 59 from the middle, and 32 from the upper.

As the stories were read, direct or positive approval of values and goals were noted in authors' statements, in descriptions of characters' thoughts and behavior, and in the plot resolution. The approved values were recorded on a schedule card, whether for a listed value, for an alternative, or for any unlisted value. The principal value and theme were differentiated from subsidiary values and from certain implied or unquestioned values. The plot was also summarized, the main conflict described, and a selection made of statements representing the values strongly supported.

⁸ J. Sirjamaki, "Culture Configurations in the American Family," *American Journal of Sociology*, 53 (May, 1948), pp. 464-471. His list is based on a variety of sources which show general agreement. The order of items was changed and numbers three and six added after consulting standard texts and specific studies: A. B. Hollingshead, *Elmtown's Youth*, New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1949; M. P. Redfield, "The American Family: Consensus and Freedom," *American Journal of Sociology*, 52 (November, 1946), pp. 175-183; M. Mead, "The Contemporary American Family as an Anthropologist Sees It," *American Journal of Sociology*, 53 (May, 1948), pp. 453-459; M. Mead, *Male and Female*, New York: William Morrow and Company, 1949; P. J. Campisi, "Ethnic Family Patterns: The Italian Family in the United States," *American Journal of Sociology*, 53 (May, 1948), pp. 443-449.

⁹ Hollingshead, *op. cit.*, p. 85; A. Davis, B. Gardner and M. Gardner, *Deep South*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1941, pp. 87-88, 95-99. See also C. Amory, *The Proper Bostonians*, New York: E. P. Dutton and Company, 1947; F. Lundberg, *America's 60 Families*, New York: The Citadel Press, 1946.

¹⁰ W. F. Whyte, "A Slum Sex Code," *American Journal of Sociology*, 49 (July, 1943), pp. 24-31; Hollingshead, *op. cit.*, pp. 418-423.

TABLE 1. PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF FAMILY VALUES OCCURRING AS MAIN THEMES IN SHORT STORIES OF THREE CULTURAL READING LEVELS

Value Number	Lower Level		Middle Level		Upper Level		All Levels	
	N	Percentage	N	Percentage	N	Percentage	N	Percentage
1	8	11.26	10	16.13	0	0.00	18	11.11
2	26	36.62	33	53.22	3	10.33	62	38.27
3	2	2.81	0	0.00	0	0.00	2	1.24
4	3	4.23	0	0.00	2	6.90	5	3.09
5	15	21.12	4	6.45	7	24.14	26	16.05
6	1	1.41	0	0.00	1	3.45	2	1.24
7	3	4.23	3	4.84	1	3.45	7	4.32
8	9	12.68	6	9.68	6	20.69	21	12.96
9	1	1.41	0	0.00	2	6.90	3	1.85
10	0	0.00	3	4.84	0	0.00	3	1.85
Total Approved Values	68	95.77	59	95.16	22	75.86	149	91.98
Total Alternative Values	3	4.23	3	4.84	7	24.14	13	8.02
Totals	71*	100.00	62*	100.00	29†	100.00	162	100.00

* Total exceeds sample because of double themes in some stories.

† Total less than sample because themes of three stories not on family value.

The story, "A Place of Our Own,"¹¹ for instance, begins with a scene in which the embrace of husband and wife is interrupted by relatives passing through the front room to their quarters. This disturbs the wife so that she blurts out: "All right. You've got a job, and a wife and baby. When are we going to have a home?" This idea of a home of their own is repeated in varying forms more than twenty times, and obligations to the husband's mother and other relatives, the main opposing value, being stated seventeen times. Out of this conflict the plot is made, and it is resolved by husband and wife moving to their own home.

Thus the principal value of the family as a small independent unit in a home of their own (No. 3) is upheld by the plot resolution as well as by the sheer quantity of direct statements,¹² and indirectly by the repudiation of the opposing value. These conclusions

were recorded, together with marks or indices showing support for two subsidiary values: the necessity of happiness in marriage, and insistence on the dominant role of the husband. Tabulated also was the fact that marriage as an important goal in life was implied throughout the story.

The values in all the stories were identified and indices recorded in the same way. When all the evidence had been gathered, the values associated with main themes and story endings were examined first to determine the extent to which the ten listed values were approved as compared with alternatives. The results are presented in Table 1. Of 162 themes, 91.98 per cent upheld the basic values as stated, 8.02 per cent supported alternatives.

The detailed evidence of approval for basic and alternative values, apart from main themes, is shown in Table 2. Of 737 indices, 88.47 per cent were for the listed values, 11.53 per cent for alternative values. The overall quantitative evidence of our sample favors the conclusion that the cultural norms and values of the American family are strongly upheld in the short stories of wide-circulation magazines, even though they represent distinct cultural reading levels.

¹¹ *True Story*, December, 1950, p. 42 ff.

¹² As D. Jones observed about movies, the goals striven for by the chief characters are limited and are developed scene by scene so that they can easily be determined. This quantitative procedure was somewhat less applicable to stories from the *Atlantic* and the *New Yorker*, which in general involved fewer scenes for making their "point." See "Quantitative Analysis of Motion Picture Content," *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 6 (Fall, 1942), p. 419.

These summary results, however, tend to obscure somewhat the differences between levels. As shown in Table 1, the total percentage of themes supporting basic values is only 75.86 for the upper level as compared with 95.16 for the middle and 95.77 for the lower. (Both comparisons are significant at the 5 per cent level.) On the other hand, Table 2, a more complete tabulation of approval for basic and for alternative values, does not indicate these striking variations. In fact, the differences in total percentage of approval for basic values between the levels are not statistically significant. These results still support the hypothesis primarily, but to some extent they set apart the upper level in its treatment of themes.

The fluctuation in frequency of themes, however, appears to be a special phenomenon common to all levels, as Table 1 indicates. The reflection theory (in its rather simplified state) seems to imply that cultural norms and values are expressed in literature about equally. From the variation in the occurrence of themes, it is obvious that basic values are not "reflected" directly and mechanically, as if they were of equal "weight." Certain values do not appear as main themes in stories at some levels, while others occur with a high degree of frequency. Although the intra-level difference—from zero to over 53 per cent—is highest for the middle level, the difference between extremes is statistically significant for all levels at the 1 per cent level of confidence.

Although these differences within levels are rather startling, the question most pertinent to our inquiry is whether the selective concentrations of themes are similar for each level. According to our hypothesis, a positive correlation should exist between the rank orders of frequency of each level. The coefficient of rank order correlation between the lower and the middle level is .76, between the lower and the upper is .65—both significant at the 5 per cent interval. The correlation between the middle and upper levels, however, is .32—not significant. If "expression" of basic values, therefore, is interpreted in terms of frequency of occurrence, there is positive correlation between levels except the middle and the upper. While largely supporting the main hypothesis, this

result again sets apart the upper level, but from the middle, not the lower level.

But why the concentration of frequencies on a relatively few themes? Combining all levels, four values occur with greatest frequency: marriage as a goal (No. 1), personal choice of marriage partner (No. 2), happiness in marriage (No. 5), and esteem for individuals along with strong affection (No. 8). Value No. 2 is overwhelmingly greatest in frequency, the percentage being more than twice that of its nearest rival, No. 5. In their historical study of "mass periodical fiction," Johns-Heine and Gerth also observe a typical clustering of themes. They think that such themes, once stabilized, "express national traditions and values tacitly supported by all."¹³ This conclusion is probably true, but also highly inadequate in view of our results, since certain important family values are relatively neglected or omitted as themes in stories at some levels.

Clustering of themes, therefore, is probably a function of other variables besides widespread acceptance of the values represented—variables that must also account for the absence from each level of certain subjects. The broadly "romantic" character of our society is fairly appropriate to the dominant themes. The age of audiences may play a part, since younger readers presumably would be interested in marriage and the choice of marriage partner, and an older audience might account for the lack of themes on marriage at the upper level,¹⁴ but these factors cannot also account for the absence of themes on the value of youth in the lower and on sex in the middle level. Taboos might explain the absence of themes on sex, but not on a family having a home of its own. The concern with happiness and with affectional problems in marriage may reflect certain stresses in modern families, but other strains—on older members, for example—are not equally developed. Leisure-time interests cannot adequately justify the concentrations, as Lowenthal thought accounted

¹³ P. Johns-Heine and H. H. Gerth, "Values in Mass Periodical Fiction, 1921-1940," *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 13 (Spring, 1949), p. 105.

¹⁴ See Johns-Heine and Gerth, *op. cit.*, footnote, p. 107; P. F. Lazarsfeld and R. Wyant, "Magazines in 90 Cities, Who Reads What?" *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 1 (October, 1937), pp. 35-37.

for the selection of heroes in popular biographies.¹⁵ These varied suppositions show, in fact, little consistency and suggest that complex factors are at work for which no general explanation as yet exists.

The question of valid indices in stories to values that are widespread in society remains. If clustering of themes fails to indicate such values adequately, then one logical answer may be the general degree of approval of basic as compared with alternative values, as shown in Table 2. As mentioned

reveal the influence of sub-cultural differences, as well as the direction of non-conformity or of change. Together, the least accepted values may reveal the influence of sub-cultural differences, as well as the direction of non-conformity or of change. Together, the least accepted values are 4, 5, 6, 8, 9, 10. Of these, only 8 is common to all levels. Number 9 is strongly non-conformist at both the lower and the upper levels, number 6 at the lower and middle levels, and 4, 5, and 10 only at the upper level.

TABLE 2. PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF APPROVAL FOR BASIC AND FOR ALTERNATIVE VALUES, APART FROM MAIN THEMES, IN STORIES OF THREE READING LEVELS

Value Number	Lower Level		Middle Level		Upper Level		All Levels	
	Basic	Alternative	Basic	Alternative	Basic	Alternative	Basic	Alternative
1	96.30	3.70	97.83	2.17	82.61	17.39	94.31	5.69
2	100.00	0.00	100.00	0.00	86.36	13.64	96.15	3.85
3	94.82	5.18	95.74	4.26	96.00	4.00	95.38	4.62
4	94.87	5.13	100.00	0.00	69.23	30.77	90.00	10.00
5	96.88	3.12	96.43	3.57	75.00	25.00	92.12	7.88
6	73.33	26.67	80.95	19.05	83.33	16.67	78.26	21.74
7	93.10	6.90	95.45	4.55	85.71	14.29	92.31	7.69
8	57.14	42.86	76.47	23.53	69.23	30.77	65.62	34.48
9	60.00	40.00	100.00	0.00	50.00	50.00	64.28	35.72
10	86.67	13.33	90.00	10.00	60.00	40.00	86.00	14.00
Totals	88.13	11.87	93.52	6.48	81.05	18.95	88.47	11.53
Total Indices	297	40	231	16	124	29	652	85

earlier, there is no significant difference between the total percentages of any level, but the middle level conforms the most, followed by the lower, then the upper. In fact, only two of the basic values in the middle level receive approval less than 90 per cent, while the lower shows four and the upper, nine. If at least 80 per cent approval is selected as a standard, the middle level again shows only one or at most two values below this degree of support, while the lower has three and the upper, five. These results, for family values, may confirm in part the general observation that the dominant values in American society are derived from the middle class.

If the arbitrary standard of at least 80 per cent approval is used to indicate those values that are most widely accepted, then examination of the least accepted values may

As one might expect, a statistically significant difference exists in the proportion of support for values 4 and 5 between the upper level and both the lower and middle levels—at the 1 and 5 per cent interval respectively. For number 4 the modification given marked support (30.77 per cent) is that sex expression outside of wedlock is permissible or condoned. Although this alternative was expected primarily among lower-level stories, only one story supported this value, and then rather ambivalently. If the slum sex code operates in society at lower cultural levels, this fact is not reflected in lower-level stories. Whether the degree of non-conformity in stories of the upper level accurately reflects the attitude of upper-class families is uncertain. At any rate, the middle-level stories are the most consistent in showing no support for any modifications in this area, and in fact, for generally avoiding any direct references to the subject. As for number 5, the kind of alternative upheld to some degree

¹⁵ L. Lowenthal, "Biographies in Popular Magazines," in P. Lazarsfeld and F. Stanton, *Radio Research, 1942-43*, New York: Harper and Brothers, 1944, pp. 517-518.

at the upper level, and insignificantly at the lower and middle levels, is an emphasis on duty in marriage and a concern for status. These modifications are consistent with values predominant in upper-class families.¹⁶

For value 10 the statistical significance is the same as for 4, though the small number of stories expressing this value at the upper level (only five) makes this result questionable. At any rate, the nature of the modification supported is the same at all levels: the recognition of the value of maturity as against that of youth. Sub-cultural differences, then, are not represented, except that middle-level stories are somewhat more ambivalent in their support of maturity, continuing to give the strongest approval to youth.

Value 6 shows a considerable degree of support for alternatives, the lower and middle levels 26.67 and 19.05 per cent respectively, the upper, 16.67 per cent. As expected, there are no significant differences between levels, and the modification supported at all levels is the same: an insistence on marriage being permanent, a rejection of divorce. This high degree of agreement between levels suggests that the idea of divorce is not fully approved in society, which agrees with Goode's assertion that "there are many strong, if gradually weaker, moral prescriptions against it."¹⁷ Perhaps the original statement should be somewhat modified. The data indicate also that the lower level is the most conservative in attitude, the middle more tolerant and the upper the most liberal of all. These differences, it should be noted, are a matter of verbal representation, and express perhaps greater "predisposition" toward acceptance of divorce among middle- and upper-level groups, but the actual incidence of divorce shows an inverse correlation with social classes.¹⁸ Perhaps literary materials at the different levels operate as compensatory mechanisms to reality while still principally supporting basic values.

Values 8 and 9 are closely related, the one being concerned with affection in the family and esteem for individual values, the other with the shielding of children from adult problems. Statistically there is a significant difference at the 1 per cent interval between the middle and both the lower and the upper levels, for number 9. The middle level gives unquestioned support to this value, although only four evidences occur in nearly sixty stories. The subject appears as a main theme only in lower and upper-level stories. In both of these levels the type of modification supported is the same: that although children should be shielded, they should also be allowed full scope for emotional development. Stories portray the unfortunate consequences of overprotection, of parental neglect and dominance. These difficulties seem to derive primarily from patriarchal family systems, which are more characteristic of the lower and the upper than of the middle class.¹⁹ But there is little or no overt approval of the idea that children should assume adult responsibilities as soon as possible, as one might expect from social conditions in the lower class, or that they should be extremely shielded, as seems to be true in the upper classes. In fact, the implication of the stories is that these families should be more individualistic, and this indirectly supports value 8, suggesting that the original statement of 9 should be revised.

Value 8, although among the highest in percentage occurring as main themes, ranks lowest in support of the basic value at both the lower and middle levels, though the proportion of non-conformity varies: lower, 42.86 per cent; middle, 23.53 per cent; upper, 30.77 per cent. Only the difference between the lower and the middle levels is statistically significant, at the 5 per cent interval. Nevertheless, the modification supported at all levels is that of subordinating individual values to family unity, with the lower level showing the greatest approval.

¹⁶ Hollingshead, *op. cit.*, pp. 85, 88; Davis, Gardner and Gardner, *op. cit.*, pp. 90-91, 95 ff. See also original materials in R. Cavan, *American Family*, New York: Thomas Crowell Company, 1953, pp. 138-140.

¹⁷ W. J. Goode, *After Divorce*, Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1956, p. 10.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 44-48, 66-68.

¹⁹ See references in notes 9 and 16, above. Also, A. Davis and R. J. Havighurst, *Father of the Man*, Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1947; A. Davis, "Child Rearing in the Class Structure of American Society," in *The Family in Democratic Society: Anniversary Papers of the Community Service Society of New York*, New York: Columbia University Press, 1949, pp. 56-69.

Since lower-class families are in fact the least stable,²⁰ the degree of emphasis in stories on sacrifices of parents and children to keep the family together may again, as for value 6, operate as a compensatory mechanism while reflecting the basic value of unity. In stories, as in life, individual values threaten family stability, not only at the lower but also at the upper level, and to a lesser extent even at the middle level. But insistence on unity, as in a patriarchal system, leads to frustration of children, as mentioned for value 9. The approval of modifications for both 8 and 9 shows inherent contradictions and conflicts, which apparently reflect general uncertainty of family roles and inadequately institutionalized family relationships.

Altogether, the support for alternative values does not seem to derive primarily from sub-cultural family values, except possibly for value 5. Although a number of statistically significant differences occur between levels, the direction of non-conformity is usually similar at all levels, and this similarity is especially marked for value 6, where no significant differences between levels exist. Though the alternative for value 9 apparently reflects the more patriarchal family systems of lower and upper classes, the emphasis tends to support indirectly value 8. These values that are most "deviant" at each level seem principally to point up areas of change, though neither the extent nor the direction can be determined without further research. They contrast with the relatively small proportion of non-conformity at any level for numbers 3 and 7, which show unquestioned support for nuclear families having homes of their own, and for males having some superior status, though the degree is occasionally in question. These areas contrast specifically with values 6 and 8, which, although generally upholding basic values, seem also to represent compensatory mechanisms to reality.

There is still the question of the upper level as a whole, which was set apart from other levels in its relatively smaller support of basic values as main themes and in its in-

adequate correlation between rank order of frequencies of themes. Certain differences in specific values have also been mentioned. In addition, for values 1 and 2, a significant difference exists between the upper and the middle level, which is born out by stories which deal with deviant groups, such as hobos and homosexuals, who avoid marriage, and by stories that show some marriage choices being determined more by status considerations than by romantic attachment.

These distinctions deserve explanation. In respect to differences in frequency of themes, the crucial fact seems to be the range of subjects in stories, which is far greater for the upper than for the other levels. This greater range results in less concentration. For a single theme, as shown in Table 1, the highest percentage at the upper level is 24.14 per cent, while in the middle it is 53.22 per cent, which largely accounts for the lack of significant correlation between these levels. Incidentally, the wider range accounts also for the high rejection rate (43 per cent) and consequently for the relatively smaller sample of upper-level stories.²¹ The greater range of subject matter is itself not a function of sub-cultural differences in family values, but probably of more education and wider perspective of readers. At any rate, family relationships in stories of the upper level are often placed in the context of a larger world, whereas the outlook in stories at the other levels—the lower particularly—is confined to the "world" of the family.²²

The smaller percentage of support in upper-level stories for certain main themes, such as values 1 and 4, is probably determined by the way in which subjects are treated artistically. Deviant characters, including hobos and homosexuals, are usually presented in terms of their own values, with no plot resolution or conventional ending to indicate clearly the author's own value commitments or those of society. In other words, subjects are treated more objectively, cer-

²¹ The discard from the middle level was only 20 per cent (for adventure stories) and none from the lower level.

²² Similar differences in intellectual horizon were pointed out by W. L. Warner and W. E. Henry, "The Radio Daytime Serial: A Symbolic Analysis," *Genetic Psychological Monographs*, 37 (February, 1948), pp. 3-73.

²⁰ Hollingshead, *op. cit.*, p. 106, 117; A. B. Hollingshead, "Class Differences in Family Stability," *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 272 (November, 1950), pp. 39-46.

tainly less moralistically, than at the other two levels. As Barnett says about "divorce" novels that are best in a literary sense, they are more "autonomous" than those that are written as popular fiction.²³ The stories are intended, apparently, to foster perspective and insight rather than a direct reinforcement of generally accepted values.

Except for the emphasis on status in respect to choice of mate (number 2) and in marriage situations (number 5), and possibly the greater familistic orientation, which is shared with the lower level, the upper-level stories do not seem to reflect sub-cultural family values. They express freedom in dealing with subjects that are socially taboo—a freedom that is often interpreted as license. Verbal or artistic non-conformity is commonly mistaken for the actual behavior of the upper class, as illustrated by the liberal attitude toward divorce, described earlier. It may be said, then, that in part at least, the larger percentage of non-conformity in stories of the upper level is determined by differences not in family values but in literary tradition.

In conclusion, our main hypothesis is largely upheld: short stories in wide-circulation magazines, though representing distinct reading levels, reflect cultural norms and values of the American family. In its simplified form, however, this concept of reflection

²³ J. H. Barnett, *Divorce and the American Divorce Novel, 1858-1937*, Philadelphia: (Privately printed) 1939, p. 139.

fails to account for significant differences in the frequency with which values occur as main themes. Frequency of themes is unreliable as a basis for determining widespread values, which seem to be indicated more certainly by detailed indices. These may provide a method of distinguishing the more firmly accepted from the more fluctuating and unsettled values. The evidence seems to indicate that the original statements for values 6 and 9 should be modified.

Competing ideas, however, were identified from analysis of stories, which in some respects distinguished the several levels. Familistic trends were found more marked in stories of the upper and lower levels, and concern for status was more emphasized at the upper and family unity at the lower level. But other expected variations from sub-cultural family differences failed to appear; the same type of non-conformity sometimes occurred at all levels. For some values the variations were in inverse ratio to reality, suggesting the operation of compensatory mechanisms in stories.

As a whole, the upper level differed most from the other levels, partly due to a few variations in family values, but considerably due to differences in general outlook and in literary tradition. The middle level, on the other hand, conformed the most closely with the basic values as originally formulated, which may in part confirm the general idea that the values most dominant in society are middle-class values.

SAMPLING MASS MEDIA CONTENT: THE USE OF THE CLUSTER DESIGN

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STUDIES utilizing content analysis have appeared with increasing frequency in literature of the social sciences over the past thirty years.¹ During this period this technique has been employed in a wide vari-

ety of sociological researches in such areas of interest as culture and cultural change, race and ethnic relations, the sociology of war, and social psychology.² Most frequently such

¹ For a history of this technique see Bernard Berelson, *Content Analysis in Communication Research*, Glencoe: The Free Press, 1952, pp. 21-22.

² Illustrative studies in these areas include: James Barnett, "The Easter Festival: A Study in Cultural Change," *American Sociological Review*, 14 (February, 1949), pp. 62-70; Bernard Berelson and Patricia Salter, "Majority and Minority Amer-

studies have involved an analysis of the mass media, particularly the newspaper and the magazine. Where this has been the case, a resort to sampling has generally been necessary. Unfortunately, the value of many such studies has been considerably diminished because of inadequacies in sampling design.

THE PROBLEM

Of the various sampling designs, cluster sampling would appear to be particularly appropriate for the sampling of mass media content, since the advantages of this design, which have led to its increasing use in the sampling of other types of universes, are relevant in most situations involving the sampling of content.³ These advantages are twofold. First, the cost of prelisting is considerably reduced: only the cluster need be listed. In most research involving a content analysis of newspapers or magazines, issues, articles, front pages, editorials, and stories are the ultimate elements of investigation. These are usually not conveniently listed, but titles are. Hence it costs less to sample by title, where each title identifies a cluster consisting of those items appearing in that publication during a given time period. Second, for most universes it is less costly to measure contiguous items. In the case of newspapers and magazines past issues are frequently bound in volumes or at least stored together and usually secured from the same source. Therefore it is less difficult and time consuming to analyze a group of issues from the same publication than to analyze the same number of issues distributed throughout several. In view of these advantages it is not surprising that most investiga-

icans: An Analysis of Magazine Fiction," *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 10 (Summer, 1946-1947), pp. 168-190; Schyler Foster, "How America Became Belligerent: A Quantitative Study of War News, 1914-1917," *American Journal of Sociology*, 40 (January, 1935), pp. 464-475; Bernard Berelson, "The Effects of Print Upon Public Opinion," in *Print, Radio, and Films*, edited by Douglas Waples, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1942, pp. 41-65.

³ The distinctive feature of this design is that elements are drawn into the sample in groups or clusters rather than individually. Area sampling is the type of cluster sampling best known to sociologists.

tions of the content of such mass media have involved the sampling of elements in clusters.

It is the purpose of this paper, however, to suggest that a major limitation is frequently encountered when sampling content in this manner, and must be taken into consideration both in deciding whether to use this design in a particular research situation and in the formulation of probability statements about the results. It can be shown from the theory of cluster sampling that where the elements within a cluster are positively correlated, the variance of this design will be greater than would be obtained if the elements were selected according to the simple random design, i.e., selected individually, irrespective of the clusters of which they are a part. In fact, relatively small positive intraclass correlations will have an appreciable effect on the variance, particularly where the size of the cluster is large.⁴ It was the hypothesis of this investigation that the phenomenon of increased variance might frequently be encountered when sampling content where the clusters selected consisted of issues or items from the same publication, which would be the logical procedure if cluster sampling were employed. It is only to be expected that the biases of publishers, editors, and subscribers will frequently lead to a certain homogeneity of coverage and opinion in the various organs of the mass media. Where this is the case, the effects of the intraclass correlation might well outweigh the cost advantage of the cluster de-

⁴ From an examination of the formula for the variance of a proportion, σ_p^2 , based on a cluster sample given below, it can be seen that the value of the term $\rho(\bar{N}-1)$, which is the addition to the variance of a cluster sample over that of a simple random sample, may be large when the size of the cluster, \bar{N} , is large, even though ρ , the intraclass correlation, is small.

$$\sigma_p^2 = \frac{M-m}{M-1} \frac{PQ}{m\bar{N}} [1 + \rho(\bar{N}-1)]$$

where M is the number of clusters in the universe and m is the number of clusters in the sample.

For a further discussion of this point and the above formula see: Morris Hansen and William Hurwitz, "Relative Efficiencies of Various Sampling Units in Population Inquiries," *Journal of the American Statistical Association*, 37 (March, 1942), p. 90. (For consistency in notation the term \bar{N} has been substituted for N as used by these authors to stand for the number of elements in each cluster.)

sign, and certainly would lead to serious overestimates of the levels of significance of the results of an investigation should the variance be computed and interpreted without regard to such effects.

METHOD

To test the hypothesis that a positive intraclass correlation might be encountered under the circumstances described above, and to illustrate the effect of such a correlation on the variance of a cluster sample, five hypothetical studies were set up. A number of considerations guided the setting up of these hypothetical research situations: (1) The sampling situation was contrived so as to make possible equal sized clusters. (2) Every attempt was made to place these operations in a realistic context. Each set of operations could have been a part of a sociological investigation. (3) Since it was desired to investigate the effect of the intraclass correlation (ρ) on both means and proportions, the material selected for analysis had to be analyzable into one or the other. (4) The research situations were set up so as to make possible the use of all the major units of content analysis. (5) Situations were selected in which a positive intraclass correlation might be expected when sampling content. Although the populations and the estimated characteristics differed from study to study, the method was the same. A population of communication content was first defined, and a content analysis designed to measure some characteristic of that population was made. The intraclass correlation and variance for the cluster sample were computed, and the latter compared with that computed for a simple random sample of the same size.

The characteristics estimated and the populations for each of the five studies were as follows:

Study I. The mean number of column inches per front page devoted to the Korean War in a population composed of ten newspapers of twenty issues each.⁵

⁵ The formula for the variance of a mean based on a sample drawn by cluster sampling procedures where the clusters are equal in size is as follows:

$$\sigma_{\bar{x}}^2 = \frac{M-m}{M-1} \frac{\sigma^2}{mN} \{1 + (\bar{N}-1)\rho\}$$

where M is the number of clusters in the popula-

Study II. The proportion of editorial units⁶ devoted entirely or in part to the Korean War in a population composed of nine newspapers of twenty issues each.

Study III. The mean number of times the adjectives "United States" or "American" were applied to the fighting forces in Korea mentioned on the front pages of a population composed of ten newspapers of twenty issues each.

Study IV. The mean number of anti-Nixon themes per editorial unit in a population composed of nine newspapers of twenty issues each.

Study V. The proportion of employed heroines in a population of romantic short stories composed of twenty stories from each of seven magazines.

The results of these operations are presented in Table 1, where it can be seen that the ρ 's are all positive, ranging in size from .03 to .33; consequently, in each case the variance of the cluster design exceeds that of the simple random design. Further, in Studies I, III, and IV, these differences are significant.

DISCUSSION

There are two possible interpretations for the lack of significance encountered in Study II. On the one hand, the lack of sharp variation may be attributed, in part at least, to the fact that during the period under analysis the Korean War did not involve issues which sharply divided any large segments of the American public. On the other hand, it may be that, contrary to the hypothesis, varying degrees of newspaper concern with an event are not revealed by the frequency of editorial comment.

In Study V the lack of significance is pos-

tion; m the number of clusters in the sample; N is the number of elements in the cluster; and

$$\rho = \frac{1}{\sigma^2} \left\{ \sigma_b^2 - \frac{\sigma_w^2}{N-1} \right\}$$

For more detailed notation and the derivation of this formula see: William Deming, *Some Theory of Sampling*, New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1950, pp. 192ff. For consistency in notation σ^2 has been

substituted for $\text{Var } \bar{x}$ as used by Deming to stand for the variance of a mean.

⁶ An editorial unit consisted of all unsigned editorial comment on the editorial page.

TABLE 1. VARIANCES FOR THE SIMPLE RANDOM AND CLUSTER SAMPLING DESIGNS; RHO AND F FOR THE CLUSTER DESIGN

Study	Simple Random Sampling	Cluster Sampling	Rho (Intraclass Correlation Coefficient)	F	Degrees of Freedom
I	.64	5.16	.33	10.89 †	$N_1 = 9$ $N_2 = 190$
II	.002 *	.003 *	.03	1.76	$N_1 = 8$ $N_2 = 191$
III	.08	.40	.19	6.43 †	$N_1 = 9$ $N_2 = 190$
IV	.08	.25	.10	3.58 †‡
V	.004 *	.008 *	.04	2.02	$N_1 = 6$ $N_2 = 133$

* To facilitate the interpretation of the values of the variances in terms of either percentages or proportions, these values are carried to the third decimal place.

† Significant at the one per cent level of confidence. Although the above values have, for the sake of exposition, been treated as parameters this far in the discussion (which indeed they are for the arbitrarily defined populations used in Studies I through V), in actual practice an investigator would normally be dealing with estimates. Hence the significance of rho would have to be determined. In such a context, each cluster of \bar{n} issues from each newspaper or magazine would be thought of as a sample of the content of a larger number of issues of that periodical, and the combined clusters or group of n issues as a sample of a larger number of issues drawn from these periodicals. For the rationale behind the use of F in this connection, see: Carl W. Backman, "Sampling Mass Media Content: A Comparison of One-stage and Two-stage Methods," Ph.D. Dissertation, Indiana University, 1954, pp. 81 ff.

‡ In Study IV the data did not permit the use of the standard table of F for interpretation, since the assumption of normality could not be made. Hence a crude test of F suggested by Deming was employed. (Deming, *op. cit.*, p. 575).

sibly due to the controls imposed on certain sources of variation. Inspection of the data suggests that if the type of story and the time and place of the setting, contemporary American, had not been standardized, there would have been much sharper variation from magazine to magazine in the proportion of employed heorines.

As for Studies I, III, and IV, where the rho's were significant, it can be seen that relatively small values of rho result in striking

differences between the variances of these two designs. In Study IV, for instance, the value of the intraclass correlation coefficient is only .10, yet the size of the variance for cluster sampling is over three times that of the variance for simple random sampling. Even more striking, of course, is the difference in the variances of these two designs in Studies I and III, where the rho's are .33 and .19 respectively. In the former, the variance for the cluster design is approximately eight times as large as that of the simple random design, while in the latter it is five times as great.

These results suggest that in deciding whether or not to use the cluster design for selecting a sample for a content analysis, an investigator must take into account the possibility that the variance may be considerably greater if he uses this design than if he chooses the simple random design to draw the same sized sample. In fact, the cost advantages of the former procedure might well be cancelled out by the necessity for increasing the size of the sample to achieve acceptable confidence limits.⁷ Certainly to neglect the possibility of a positive intraclass correlation or to assume that the correlation is approximately zero, and to compute the variance using the standard formulas based on the assumptions underlying the simple random design, is hazardous. Such a practice will frequently result in appreciably overestimating levels of significance.⁸

⁷ It should be noted here that a number of procedures (subsampling, stratification, etc.) have been suggested for reducing the effect of rho on the variance. See: Russell L. Ackoff, *The Design of Social Research*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1953, p. 114; Deming, *op. cit.*, p. 191 ff.; Morris Hansen and William Hurwitz, "Modern Methods in the Sampling of Human Populations," *American Journal of Public Health*, 41 (June, 1951) pp. 662-668. However, the use of such procedures requires considerable foreknowledge about characteristics of the universe to be sampled as well as the cost of various research operations. Unfortunately, information of this sort is at present insufficient in communications research.

⁸ For a discussion of this point in connection with tests of significance see Eli S. Marks, "Sampling in the Revision of the Stanford-Binet Scale," *Psychological Bulletin*, 44 (September, 1947), p. 425.

These remarks should not be construed to mean that cluster sampling should always be avoided. In many research situations it will be found to be the most efficient design, despite the effect of the intraclass correlation on the variance. This effect, however, must be accounted for by using the proper formulas in computing the variance.⁹ When this is done, probability statements about the results can legitimately be formulated in the standard manner.

⁹For the computational formula for the variance of the mean where the sample has been drawn by cluster sampling procedures see: *ibid.*, p. 420; similarly for the variance of a proportion see: Philip J. McCarthy, "Sample Design," in Marie Jahoda, Morton Deutsch, and Stuart W. Cook, (editors), *Research Methods in Social Relations*, Vol. II, New York: Dryden Press, 1951, p. 662.

TOWARD A THEORY OF DISASTER *

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DISASTERS are commonly thought of as tragic situations over which persons, groups, or communities have no control—situations which are imposed by an outside force too great to resist. Disasters render ineffectual customary behavior patterns, often nullify previous efforts, and block or drastically change the course of events. Loss of life seems to be an essential element. Survivors are suddenly given a feeling of impotence. Institutions find themselves facing new tasks of an immediacy which is undeniable and which must be accomplished if survival is to be assured. On the community level the situation may be described as one of acute disorganization; at

the personal level there is a high degree of frustration.

But lives are built, groups are formed and operate, communities plan their budgets and other activities on the assumption that events in the future will follow the patterns which were effective in the past. Changes are anticipated as coming slowly enough and being mild enough that they can be assimilated without destruction of those patterns. Non-predictability may be an essential characteristic of disaster.

We do have records of tornadoes, of floods, of drought conditions, etc., from which we could construct probability tables for any given city or person. But we do not, and for two very good reasons: cost would be high, and we recognize there is only a very small chance of a disaster affecting a particular community or family or person. That is, the disaster consists in occurrence of conditions for which no protective plan had been put into effect, not in the knowledge that conditions exist which might bring severe consequences.

In the case of tornadoes, there are no

*Paper read at the annual meeting of the American Sociological Society, September, 1955. This paper forms a portion of the report on the Waco-San Angelo Disaster Study, supported by grants from the National Academy of Sciences-National Research Council Committee on Disaster Research and the Research Council, the Institute of Public Affairs, and the Hogg Foundation for Mental Hygiene of the University of Texas. The conclusions are those of the writer and not necessarily those of any of the sponsoring agencies.

known protective devices which may be used to prevent the disaster. Most persons living in areas subject to tornadoes make wry jokes about the possibility of their being involved, but do not see the threat as serious enough to call for preparatory action further than, perhaps, equipping the home with a storm cellar.

When a tornado strikes, then, it is both unexpected and no plan is possible for its prevention. Plans may, of course, be made for meeting the catastrophe after it has occurred.

Because of lack of preparation, the unexpectedness of the event, and the lack of any adequate safeguards, the tornado is a disaster. As a disaster, it is irresistible and for that very reason the more frightening and disorganizing. With no plans made, or with plans which often prove to be wholly inadequate, the first reaction may be one of dazed bewilderment, sometimes one of disbelief or at least of refusal to accept the fact. This, it seems to us, is the essential explanation of the behavior of persons and groups in Waco when it was devastated in 1953.¹ It explains

¹ This paper was developed in an effort to summarize and synthesize a descriptive study of disasters in Waco and San Angelo, and without specific reference to other studies of disaster. But this is certainly not to say that resemblance to conclusions reached by other disaster researchers was coincidental. Many of the basic ideas have been available in the sociological literature since the pioneering study in this field. See Samuel Henry Prince, *Catastrophe and Social Change*, Columbia University Studies in History, Economics and Public Law, Vol. 94, No. 1, 1920. In fact, Prince expresses or at least adumbrates many of the ideas to be found here. Nonetheless Janis' judgment, voiced in 1954, is still substantially correct: "As yet, little advance has been made in the direction of developing any kind of theoretical framework that systematically covers the effects that disasters are known to have on individuals, organizations and communities." [Irving L. Janis, "Problems of Theory in the Analysis of Stress Behavior," *Journal of Social Issues*, 10 (No. 3, 1954), p. 13.] Janis has done as much as anyone to remedy this situation. This paper is a tentative gesture in the same direction.

See A. F. C. Wallace, *Human Behavior in Extreme Situations*, Washington: National Academy of Sciences-National Research Council, Committee on Disaster Studies, Disaster Study No. 1 (Academy-Council Publication No. 390) for a review of the literature in disaster research.

Much of the recent literature on disasters has been developed in the form of reports to this organization. Grateful acknowledgment is made for

how citizens and officials alike had to have time for a minimum reorientation before going into action. On the personal level, it explains how a girl climbed through a broken display window into a music store, calmly purchased a record, and walked out again even though the plate glass front of the building had blown out and articles were flying through the air inside the building. This may explain, too, why institutions set up for relief of human suffering seemed to suffer a paralysis with functionaries unable to assign tasks to others who were anxious to go into action.²

Such lack of action may be explained in terms of two factors which seem to reinforce each other. Psychologically, such drastic events seem to have a narcotizing effect which temporarily prevents the person from comprehending the extent to which his world and his position within it are changed, a lowered level of perception. Sociologically, it also appears that such persons are, in a sense disoriented. They do not receive the customary cues from their surroundings or from their associates. They are unable to assess their situation through communication with others.³ This might explain why such persons often display more upset or "shock" after they have talked with others than immediately after a catastrophe. Similarly on the institutional level, functionaries are obviously dependent on reports of the changes which have taken place before they are able to make decisions about what, and how great, effort is required.

How long this period of inactivity lasts⁴ where present, seems to vary with persons

access to the following unpublished reports: John W. Powell and Jeanette F. Rayner, "Progress Notes on Disaster Research"; John W. Powell, "Preliminary Observations: Waco, Texas, Tornado of May, 1953"; Jeanette F. Rayner, "Role of the Military in Disaster."

² Cf. Prince, *op. cit.*, pp. 36, 49, 61.

³ Anthony F. C. Wallace has expressed much of this idea in an unpublished paper, "Disruption of the Individual's Identification with his Culture in Disasters and Other Extreme Situations," and in conversation. He uses the term "maze" in much the meaning usually given "culture."

⁴ L. T. Carr, "Disaster and the Sequence-Pattern-Concept of Social Change," *American Journal of Sociology*, 38 (September, 1932), pp. 207-218, is the primary source for the notion of a series of stages used in this paper.

and institutions, and probably is related to organizational factors. It may be postulated that the rapidity of recovery at the personal level is associated with such factors as past experiences with the same or similar types of events, the degree of emotional involvement and/or of emotional stability, plus the way in which the situation is defined. In groups and institutions these same factors would appear to operate, but additional elements also seem to be important. Some of these may be the personal factors mentioned as they affect institutional functionaries, traditions of the group or institution, degree of preparation in the form of realistically drawn plans and practices, accumulation of needed supplies, and established relationships with other institutions. But more research is needed to delineate accurately the parts these factors actually play in disaster situations.

This phase of immobility lasts for an indefinite, but short, period of time. A period of intense activity quickly follows—an effort to effect reorganization by use of strength and vigor. This is the rescue period in a disaster sequence. The situation still is not seen clearly and rationally, but action is demanded as a means of reassertion of control. Leadership begins to function. If the titular leaders do not assume control, others take over. Orders are given and obeyed with no clear understanding on the part of anyone of what the orders are to accomplish, perhaps more for the cathartic effect of the action or the ordering than for the accomplishment of any consciously held goal. "For God's sake, do something!" seems to be the prevailing sentiment.

Persons and institutions submerge their particular aims in a common effort during this phase. Old rivalries and conflicts are forgotten, or at least become subliminal, in the face of what seems to be an overwhelming task. Almost complete selflessness and great generosity is the emotional climate of this time. Giving of goods or of physical effort is a way of doing something. Merchants in Waco opened their stores and gave any supplies requested by any person, with or without authority or responsibility, whether or not the requested materials could be used effectively.⁵ Indeed, it may well be that this

desire to do something to aid in setting the situation to rights again is a primary factor in the outpouring of donations in such a situation. More plausibly, it would account for the thousands of sandwiches, the piles of clothing and bedding which appeared as if by magic. At the same time it accounts for one crew throwing debris and rubble into the path of another when both were supposedly attempting to clear away obstacles.

Social welfare agencies placed their personnel and resources at the disposal of American Red Cross and Salvation Army, recognized and experienced leaders in such work. Military units in the area moved in with needed supplies and men with no apparent thought of protocol. Within less than twenty-four hours a task force composed of persons from numerous federal agencies was on the scene and working as a newly created institution. Red tape was disposed of after the manner of the Gordian knot, at least for the time being. But organization was at a minimum, and largely confined to small work groups and functionaries of institutions with past experience in disaster situations.

Because of the magnitude of the task facing rescue operations in a disaster such as that at Waco, and partly because of the frenzy with which effort is expended for the sake of "doing something," it becomes apparent after a time—depending on the nature of the task (in Waco, about three days)—that this type of action is not restoring the situation to the *status quo ante* and even that not all of the activity is productive of desired ends. It may begin to appear that the problem is too big to be solved, that defeat is inevitable. Further, fatigue, emotional and physical, has set in, and the high stimulation of the possibility of saving lives has been dissipated. In this phase, the frustration may produce aggression or apathy.

This tendency toward disorganization and frustration is furthered by the necessity for leaders to issue orders which are not always understood but which must, nevertheless, be obeyed. Often such orders run directly counter to the desires of those receiving them. In Waco, by way of illustration, merchants were ordered to remain away from their stores. At the same time demolition crews were knocking over walls which had been pronounced unsafe. Everything in

⁵ Prince, *op. cit.*, pp. 41, 57, *inter alia*.

the training and experience of the merchant bade him protect his property, but this he was forbidden to do.⁶ Hostility found expression in a mass meeting. The next day the military withdrew its heavy equipment from the task of removing hazardous structures. In such a situation, it would seem, orders given are likely to transgress the values of some groups, and thereby make for expressions of hostility.

Similarly, welfare agencies applying impersonal, universalistic values to the local situation may incur enmity when it appears they ignore or transgress local standards. When they also give orders, or issue instructions, the underlying reasons for which are not known, the situation is aggravated.⁷

It is at this point that serious planning is undertaken as a means of reorganization, of bringing the situation under customary controls. Thought is given to means of restoration of community authority and protection of the community interests for the future as well as the present. An effort is made to meet criticisms either by pointing out their unfounded nature, or by remedying situations which transgress community standards. The "reasons why" are made explicit, and the need for compliance with instructions is stressed.

In this situation persons needing and seeking sympathy and understanding may face requirements which they do not understand and which may appear heartless, arbitrary, or directly opposed to the principles which should prevail. Losses become apparent, and persons begin to seek someone to blame for their losses. With institutions, things are not going smoothly, in spite of intense efforts. Search for a scapegoat on whom emotional tension may be released may begin. Old conflicts are remembered and fanned into new life; new ones are created. Institutions, even

religious ones, active in rescue and temporary relief work, are attacked and accused of being heartless, of selling supplies donated for relief at exorbitant prices to the sufferers who must have them regardless of cost, or of shipping out relief supplies to be sold in other cities. Political campaigns may be undertaken to fix blame and assess punishment for failure to solve the problems the community faces. The old world is gone; the new is strange and frightening.⁸ People argue that they did nothing to deserve such a fate; therefore, someone else *must* have. That someone else must be exposed and castigated.

This "brick bat" stage is the beginning of the period of reorientation, and is critical. What will happen to the person, family, institution, or community will depend on how the situation is redefined and how plans are redrawn to attain goals newly set up. Several possibilities are present. The idea may persist that things cannot be restored to any desirable state because of the malevolent actions of fate or of other persons or groups, or the refusal of others to take necessary action, or the ineffectuality of existing institutions. If this occurs, an accommodation may be made on the assumption that the disastrous consequences are permanent, the situation unsolvable, and further effort is only wasteful of energy. This is adjustment on the lowest level. In persons, this is often accompanied by regressive behavior involving loss of discriminatory judgment. In institutions, the sense of failure may be so great that contributors withdraw support or voluntary dissolution is undertaken.

Physical withdrawal is another possibility. Persons may move out of the community or the damaged area. But flight from unacceptable reality may also be symbolic, as in refusal to participate further in civic affairs. Institutions may withdraw from fields of activity.

Withdrawal may also be accomplished with the aid of the mechanisms of rationalization and projection. If no satisfactory resolution to problems can be found, solutions may be

⁶ Lewis M. Killian, "The Significance of Multiple-Group Membership in Disaster," *American Journal of Sociology*, 57 (Jan. 1952), pp. 309-314, develops the idea of role conflict.

⁷ William H. Form, Sigmund Nosow, Gregory P. Stone and Charles M. Westie, *Final Report on the Flint-Beecher Tornado*, Social Research Service, Michigan State College, 1954, discusses factors making for or against acceptance of the activities of organizations in that disaster situation. This is, perhaps, the most thoroughly sociological study of a disaster yet to appear.

⁸ Prince, *op. cit.*, built his entire study around the central notion of the disaster as a socially disorganizing event which was followed by reorganization.

labelled as unworthy of attainment. This latter adjustment may be accomplished partly by an increased interest in religion, with its central symbol of the suffering God. Or, withdrawal may be accomplished by projecting one's own feelings to another and then reacting to the other as one cannot to oneself. Finally, there may be repression to the extent of a steadfast denial of suffering and deprivation; a refusal to acknowledge that anything or everything is not what is desirable and wanted.

Redefinition of goals in terms of what is seen as attainable is more normally the reaction. Resources are estimated and where they are clearly insufficient for the desired goal, replanning is done to bring the resources and goals into consonance. The group comes into emphatic importance with its ability to smooth out personal differences and to synthesize varying desires through such processes as compromise, arbitration, conciliation, thereby replacing emotional reaction with rational consideration.

Leaders have important roles to play in this process of reorganization. They take the lead in the process of levelling out differences between persons and within institutional groups. They also assist in fixing the attention of all participants on a common focus, thereby securing concerted and co-operative action. Through former experience, reading or discussion with experts, leaders may be able to present information or theories which aid in seeing more clearly what is possible and what is impossible. Tasks are assigned in terms of the known abilities and interests of the various persons and institutions. A team effort is developed.

The closer the new plan is to the older, but no longer tenable, behavior patterns, the more quickly and easily it will be accepted and acted upon. From this it follows, too, that the nearer to coincidence the goals and activities of persons and groups were before

the crisis, the more co-operative effort there was in the past, the less the difficulty in attaining team play.

Reorganization of aims, and agreement on how they may best be pursued, is the necessary first step in the rehabilitation process. Once these are attained, the process is one of planning and working in a fashion quite similar to that which prevailed before the disaster, but with the added factor of a conscious over-all purpose motivating the entire community. A city plan may state this explicitly, or it may consist of tacitly accepted goals of re-establishing the *status quo ante*. In any case, the process of rehabilitation becomes much more institutionalized and group-centered than the immediate reaction to disaster, the shattered social structure reasserts its priority, and social controls, formal and informal, assume their former dominance to a greater and greater degree. This is illustrated particularly in new ordinances, such as building codes or provisions for the demolition of dangerous structures.⁹ Institutions set up new patterns of co-operative working arrangements, and new institutions may be created to meet foreseen needs in future emergencies.

But the process of rebuilding, of maintaining and strengthening new relationships, of reorienting and reorganizing ways of living, both on the personal and community levels, is a slow and painful one. If, and when, it has been successfully carried through a new social structure will have been produced which permits a return to normal living, and rehabilitation will have been accomplished.

⁹ Fred C. Ikle, "The Effects of War Destruction upon the Ecology of Cities," *Social Forces*, 29 (May, 1951), pp. 383-391, is an excellent substantive study of physical problems of community reconstruction. Gordon W. Blackwell and George E. Nicholson, Jr., have applied minimax theory to defense against disaster. The same theory obviously has equal, or greater, applicability to rehabilitation.

POPULATION COMPOSITION AND FERTILITY TRENDS *

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THE literature on national fertility movements has long had as a central focus the changes occurring within social and economic sectors of the population. Surprisingly little attention, however, has been given to the interrelations between such sectoral movements and the change for the population as a whole. Because of shifts in socio-economic composition, a population's overall fertility may remain constant even while substantial trends are taking place in each sector and, conversely, a uniform trend by sectors may accompany a greater or lesser change in the aggregate. In more general terms, varying composition is likely to cause aggregate fertility to be different from what it would have been with fixed composition. It is true that standardization techniques are often used in fertility analysis as a means of dealing with the same kind of problem. But these are almost always limited to controlling for shifts in demographic composition only, i.e., for age, sex, color, or nativity. Other shifts, for example in urban-rural and occupational distribution, are usually neglected, although it is readily conceivable that their effects on aggregate fertility are not slight.¹

The purpose of this paper is to illustrate the effects of the latter shifts, using American fertility data. The specific statistics and method of approach are perhaps less important for their own sake than as a way of showing that the effects of variations in non-demographic composition may well warrant

separate examination. Undoubtedly, more refined analysis will often be desirable in dealing with concrete situations. Nevertheless, the present evidence seems sufficient to bring out some significant and frequently overlooked general conclusions.

METHOD OF APPROACH

Any variation in the fertility of a population can be regarded as the sum of two component parts. One part reflects the changes taking place within the population's individual sectors, however these may be defined. The other part depends upon the changes in the relative sizes of the sectors. The components have to be defined in a mutually consistent manner if their sum is to equal the actual variation, but this can always be done for any fertility measure and for any predetermined set of sectors.² One or two examples will serve to clarify the approach underlying the data presented below.

Suppose the fertility measure being considered is a national ratio of children under 5 to women in the reproductive ages and that the composition variable is urban-rural residence. Let F denote the national number of women, F_1 and F_2 the sizes of the urban and rural sub-groups, respectively, and C , C_1 and C_2 the corresponding numbers of children. The ratios for the three areas are

$$R = \frac{C}{F}, R_1 = \frac{C_1}{F_1}, R_2 = \frac{C_2}{F_2} \text{ and the proportions of women in the urban and rural sectors are } W_1 = \frac{F_1}{F}, W_2 = \frac{F_2}{F}, \text{ where } W_1 + W_2 = 1.$$

These magnitudes are all interrelated by the equation

$$(1) R = \frac{C}{F} = \frac{C_1 + C_2}{F} = \frac{R_1 F_1 + R_2 F_2}{F} = R_1 W_1 + R_2 W_2.$$

This brings out the familiar fact that the national measure can be represented as the

² Cf. Thompson and Whelpton, *loc. cit.*, where the method of estimating components is such that their sum will generally have to be adjusted in order to equal the actual change.

* I am indebted to Charles F. Westoff, Clyde V. Kiser, Elliot G. Mishler and Frank W. Notestein for comments on various points.

¹ A rare attempt to examine the effects of composition shifts which are not strictly demographic is in W. S. Thompson and P. K. Whelpton, *Population Trends in the United States*, New York: McGraw-Hill, 1933, pp. 282-284. The authors represent the trend in American births during the 1920's as the result of a variety of demographic changes and also of the shift in urban-rural distribution. R. B. Vance, *All These People*, Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1945, pp. 99-102, has followed the same procedures in analyzing fertility trends in the Southeast.

weighted average of the corresponding sectoral measures, the weights being the relative sizes of the sectors.

It follows that the variation of the national measure over time may be affected by variations in composition as well as in fertility proper.³ For any two periods, we have

$$(2) R' - R = (R'_1 W'_1 + R'_2 W'_2) - (R_1 W_1 + R_2 W_2),$$

where the primes refer to the later period. To separate the effects of changes in the R 's from shifts in the W 's we may subtract the sum of cross-products $R'_1 W_1 + R'_2 W_2$ from the first right-hand term and add the same sum to the negative of the second term. This yields, after factoring,

$$(3) R' - R = R'_1 (W'_1 - W_1) + R'_2 (W'_2 - W_2) + W_1 (R'_1 - R_1) + W_2 (R'_2 - R_2).$$

Accordingly, the population's urban-rural composition would have zero effect on $R' - R$ only if the first two terms canceled each other or were both equal to zero.

The same reasoning would apply if we related $R' - R$ to a two-dimensional classification of the population, for example to region of residence and occupation of head of household. Let $i=1, \dots, n$ denote the specified regions and $j=1, \dots, m$ the occupations; R_{ij} the ratio of children to women belonging to the i th region and j th occupation; and W_{ij} the proportion of total women in that cross-classification. Then the change in the national measure can be written as

$$(4) R' - R = \sum_{i=1}^n \sum_{j=1}^m R'_{ij} (W'_{ij} - W_{ij}) + \sum_{i=1}^n \sum_{j=1}^m W_{ij} (R'_{ij} - R_{ij}).$$

And in general, whatever the classification used to define composition, it would be possible to break down $R' - R$ into a "composition" component and a "fertility" component, corresponding to the two sub-totals of equation (4). In every case the composition component would indicate the national change that would be found if composition shifted but fertility remained constant within sectors ($R'_{ij} = R_{ij}$). The fertility com-

ponent would show the change under the given variations in sectoral fertility and constant composition ($W'_{ij} = W_{ij}$).

Other ways of isolating the effects of composition shifts can be readily envisaged, each of which would yield a different estimate as a rule. For this reason alone any one method would have only limited applicability. The above approach has a common-sense appeal in its own right, but our main purpose is merely to suggest that composition may be significant, not to arrive at specific magnitudes.⁴

EMPIRICAL ILLUSTRATIONS

Table 1 presents two widely used measures of fertility, relating to selected categories of women in total United States as of 1910, 1940 and 1950. The 1940 data that are best adapted to computing changes since 1910 are shown in column 3 and those suited

⁴ It will be noted that the cross-product terms used in passing from equation (2) to (3) involved end-period ratios and initial-period weights. An equally valid procedure from some viewpoints would be to introduce initial-period ratios and terminal-period weights. In this case the fertility component would show what the overall change would be if the weights at the earlier date were the same as those at the later date, rather than the reverse. Since such an approach would generally have yielded larger composition components than are shown in Table 2, the present evidence on the effects of composition shifts may be conservative.

A multiplicity of approaches exists in considering any aggregative social or economic measure, whether the emphasis is on changes over time or differences in space. S. L. Wolfbein and A. J. Jaffe, in "Demographic Factors in Labor Force Growth," *American Sociological Review*, 11 (August, 1946), pp. 392-396, have in effect applied equation (4) to a problem in labor-force analysis, without discussing the reasons for their choice of method. An interesting general treatment of many of these issues has recently been provided by E. M. Kitagawa's "Components of a Difference Between Two Rates," *Journal of the American Statistical Association*, 50 (December, 1955), which came to my attention after the present paper had been completed in very nearly its final form. Kitagawa rightly characterizes equation (4) as one of a battery of possible approaches to the problem of separating composition factors. However, her own proposed "solution" to the separation problem seems to me labored. Separation may be attempted for a wide variety of purposes, often with very different requirements, and her particular formulation of an optimum approach takes only mechanistic account of the interactions between "rates" and "weights."

³ The fact that these particular measures are affected by mortality is of no significance here. The same conclusion would hold for "purer" fertility measures, such as age-specific birth rates.

TABLE 1. CHILDREN UNDER 5 AND CHILDREN EVER BORN PER 1,000 WOMEN, FOR SELECTED AGES AND CATEGORIES OF WOMEN, UNITED STATES

Category and Age* (1)	1910† (2)	1940† (3)	1940‡ (4)	1950‡ (5)
1. Children under 5 per 1,000 Women				
All women, 15-49	397	283	278	404
WEM, 15-49	651	428	412	525
WMO-HP, 15-49	714	478	458	571
All women, 20-24	443	386	385	591
WEM, 20-24	910	744	746	868
WMO-HP, 20-24	942	773	772	883
All women, 30-34	651	441	441	606
WEM, 30-34	793	518	518	667
WMO-HP, 30-34	848	565	564	712
2. Children Ever Born per 1,000 Women				
All women, 45-49	3,668	2,336	2,704	2,251
All women EXC. NR, 45-49	3,859	2,602	—	—
WEM, 45-49	4,339§	2,920§	2,969	2,456
WMO-HP, 45-49	—	—	3,098	2,525
Mothers, 45-49	4,822§	3,464§	—	—
All women, 55-64	4,082	2,547	—	—
All women EXC. NR, 55-64	4,374	2,850	—	—
WEM, 55-64	4,805§	3,221§	—	—
Mothers, 55-64	5,273§	3,843§	—	—
All women, 55-59	—	—	2,962	2,689
WEM, 55-59	—	—	3,256	2,922
WMO-HP, 55-59	—	—	3,397	2,976

Sources: United States Bureau of the Census. *Population. Differential Fertility: 1940 and 1910. Women by Number of Children under 5 Years Old.* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1945); *Population. Differential Fertility: 1940 and 1910. Women by Number of Children Ever Born.* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1945); *Special Reports: Fertility. 1950 Population Census Report P-E No. 5c.* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1955).

* WEM=Women ever married. WMO-HP=Women married once, husband present.

All Women EXC. NR=All women, except ever married not reporting on children.

† Native white women. Data on children unadjusted for omissions.

‡ White women. Data on children ever born adjusted for omissions.

§ Rates per 1,000 women reporting on children ever born.

for comparisons with 1950 are in column 4. Depending on the period and category of women, it was possible to derive a number of corresponding changes in sectoral fertility and composition, using urban-rural, regional, and occupational sectors, or combinations of these. In each instance fertility and composition components were computed from equations analogous to (4), the results being shown in Table 2 as percentages of the national change. For example, the change between 1910 and 1940 in the national ratio of children under 5 to women 15-49 is reported as 114 per 1,000, as can be seen from Table 1. Multiplying the changes in the urban, rural-farm and rural-nonfarm ratios by the respective proportions of women in these

sectors in 1910 yielded a fertility component (second term in equation (4)) of about 93 per 1,000, or 82 per cent of 114. The residual of 21 per 1,000 or 18 per cent is the composition component, and the two percentages are presented in paired fashion in the first row of Table 2. A number of the paired percentages are of opposite sign; in such instances the fertility changes within sectors and the shifts of population between sectors were exerting opposite effects on the national trend. Thus the 1910-1940 shifts in regional composition, taken by themselves, would have raised the national average of children ever born per woman, while the fertility movements within regions were such as to lower the average to a greater extent than

TABLE 2. "FERTILITY" AND "COMPOSITION" COMPONENTS AS PERCENTAGES OF NATIONAL CHANGES IN CHILDREN UNDER 5 AND CHILDREN EVER BORN PER 1,000 WOMEN, FOR SELECTED POPULATION CHARACTERISTICS, AGES AND CATEGORIES OF WOMEN, UNITED STATES

Category and Age*	Urban-Rural		Regions [#]		Occupations**		Urban-Rural, Regions		Urban-Rural, Occupations		Regions, Occupations		Urban-Rural, Regions, Occupations	
	F	C	F	C	F	C	F	C	F	C	F	C	F	C
	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)	(15)
1. Children under 5 per 1,000 Women, 1910-1940†														
All Women, 15-49	82	18	100	0	—	—	84	16	—	—	—	—	—	—
WEM, 15-49	86	14	99	1	—	—	86	14	—	—	—	—	—	—
WMO-HP, 15-49	88	12	99	1	93	7	88	12	94	6	94	6	94	6
All Women, 20-24	39	61	95	5	—	—	47	53	—	—	—	—	—	—
WEM, 20-24	72	28	98	2	—	—	72	28	—	—	—	—	—	—
WMO-HP, 20-24	72	28	98	2	76	24	72	28	77	23	78	22	78	22
All Women, 30-34	83	17	99	1	—	—	83	17	—	—	—	—	—	—
WEM, 30-34	86	14	99	1	—	—	84	16	—	—	—	—	—	—
WMO-HP, 30-34	87	13	99	1	85	15	86	14	86	14	84	16	85	15
2. Children Ever Born per 1,000 Women, 1910-1940†														
All Women, 45-49	88	12	102	-2	—	—	91	9	—	—	—	—	—	—
All Women EXC.														
NR, 45-49	84	16	102	-2	—	—	87	13	—	—	—	—	—	—
WEM, 45-49	86§	14§	101§	-1§	—	—	88§	12§	—	—	—	—	—	—
Mothers, 45-49	88§	12§	101§	-1§	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
All Women, 55-64	87	13	101	-1	—	—	91	9	—	—	—	—	—	—
All Women, EXC.														
NR, 55-64	85	15	102	-2	—	—	89	11	—	—	—	—	—	—
WEM, 55-64	87§	13§	101§	-1§	—	—	90§	10§	—	—	—	—	—	—
Mothers, 55-64	89§	11§	102§	-2§	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
3. Children under 5 per 1,000 Women, 1940-1950‡														
All Women, 15-49	100	0	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
WEM, 15-49	102	-2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
WMO-HP, 15-49	102	-2	—	—	112	-12	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
All Women, 20-24	104	-4	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
WEM, 20-24	112	-12	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
WMO-HP, 20-24	115	-15	—	—	123	-23	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
All Women, 30-34	102	-2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
WEM, 30-34	103	-3	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
WMO-HP, 30-34	102	-2	—	—	104	-4	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
4. Children Ever Born per 1,000 Women, 1940-1950‡														
All Women, 45-49	88	12	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
WEM, 45-49	89	11	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
WMO-HP, 45-49	90	10	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
All Women, 55-59	80	20	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
WEM, 55-59	83	17	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
WMO-HP, 55-59	86	14	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—

Sources: See Table 1.

* See code in Table 1. F=Fertility Component, as per cent of national change; C=Composition Component.

† Native white women. Data on children unadjusted for omissions.

‡ White women except for columns 6 and 7, which compare native white women in 1940 with white women in 1950. 1940 data on children ever born, adjusted for omissions.

§ Based on rates for women reporting on children ever born.

|| Based on 1940 definition of urban, rural-farm and rural non-farm.

Regions are Northeastern states, North Central states, the South and the West.

** Women classified by major occupational group of husband, generally comparable to 1940 definitions. National fertility measures somewhat adjusted to exclude women with no reported occupations for husband.

was actually observed (Table 1). Conversely, occupational shifts between 1940 and 1950 tended to dampen the rise in average number of children under 5, which would otherwise have been larger.⁵

The evidence in Table 2 makes it clear that composition factors have often had an appreciable influence on American national fertility trends. As measured here, the contribution of urban-rural shifts to the 1910-1940 change in children under 5 per woman has been some 10 to 20 per cent for women 15-49 and 30-34, and has been considerably higher for those 20-24 (columns 2 and 3). Of special interest is the fact that such contributions may differ substantially between all women and married women, especially in the young reproductive ages. Marital status has usually been ignored in American fertility projections, and the present findings add to the reasons often advanced for incorporating this variable in future projections. Also suggestive are the effects of occupational shifts, although the available data are rather limited (columns 6 and 7). The value of 7 per cent for the composition component involving women 15-49 is not small, yet it is well below the values relating to women 20-24 and 30-34. Presumably the last two age categories are more relevant from an analytical viewpoint, since they are not significantly affected by shifts in internal age structure. With respect to the 1940-1950 changes in the same measure, the contributions of urban-rural and occupational shifts are minor for some categories of women but appreciable for others. And in both 1910-1940 and 1940-1950 urban-rural redistribution "accounted" for 10 to 20 per cent of the national change in average number of children ever born.

A somewhat unexpected finding was that the 1910-1940 percentages are practically the same for one-dimensional as for more detailed cross-classifications. This might have been anticipated for the sub-groupings involving regions, since control for the latter alone led to insignificant composition effects

⁵ Undoubtedly, many of the reported fertility and composition changes are inaccurate, but there is no reason to suppose that the percentages in Table 2 have been biased on this account. See the introductions to the statistical sources cited in Table 1.

(columns 4 and 5). In addition, however, the percentages based on occupation differ very little from the ones encountered when occupational and urban-rural shifts are combined. Whether this was also the case between 1940 and 1950 cannot, unfortunately, be answered.

The slight importance of shifts in regional composition during 1910-1940 is explained by a combination of circumstances. The changes in the percentages of regional to national numbers were small to begin with, being less than 5 points in nearly all instances. Moreover, the change was well below average in the South, where a given change would be weighted by unusually high fertility.⁶ Other situations might well arise, however, in which the role of regional redistribution would be more significant.

SOME IMPLICATIONS

Obviously, the above illustrations provide only a small sample of results. Although they include most of the computations that can be made from the American census tabulations so far available, it would be desirable to examine the data for a much larger variety of situations.

It should also be emphasized that the present scheme for separating fertility and composition components is merely suggestive. To proceed as if fertility changes within sectors can be separated in a mechanical way from changes in their relative sizes is at least partially unrealistic. Thus past American fertility trends within occupations would almost certainly have been different from the ones actually observed, had there not also been extensive shifts between occupations. It seems probable, for example, that the 1910-1940 fertility declines among white-collar groups were fostered by the pressure of a rapidly growing labor supply on wage rates; at the same time, the traditionally low fertility of these groups was itself a factor favoring recruitment from other occupations. In the case of both Southern urban and Southern rural fertility, the declines during the same period might well have been greater

⁶ A given value of $W'_i - W_i$ in the estimating equation analogous to (4) would be multiplied by a larger value of R'_i in the case of the South than in other regions.

than they were, had not emigration served to reduce regional differences in economic opportunities. And more directly, the fertility level found in a given sector at any time reflects the history of its members in previous periods, when some of them belonged to different sectors. This needs to be kept in mind especially in considering measures of completed fertility, but also applies to such "current" measures as average number of children under 5 or even birth rates.

It is equally true that these difficulties can be exaggerated. The determinants of a sector's fertility often differ in nature and degree of influence from the factors (e.g., mortality) which affect its relative size. Moreover, allowance for interactions between inter-sectoral movements and intra-sectoral behavior might enhance the influence attributable to composition shifts. As a case in point, the major streams of American internal migration between 1910 and 1940—from farm to city, East to West and South to North—were from areas of higher fertility to areas of lower fertility. To the extent that the migrant groups followed the fertility patterns of their areas of origin, the composition components according to (4) tended to be below the values that would have resulted from no migration.

All in all, therefore, the evidence at hand seems sufficient for the minimum proposition under review, i.e., that the relations between social-economic composition and aggregate fertility merit more explicit attention than they have received in the past.

In turn, this conclusion has some interesting corollaries. First, it suggests an additional approach to national fertility projections. The usual methods of projecting from aggregate trends presuppose that the combined effects of changing fertility within sectors and of changes in their relative size will operate in the future as they have in the past. Whether the separate projection of fertility and composition components would lead to more reliable forecasts remains to be

seen, but is at least a possibility.⁷ A minimum advantage of such an approach is that it would provide a check on more aggregative methods. Attention to components would also open a way of linking investigations of differential fertility to the analysis of national trends.

A second set of implications concerns the functions that may be served by alternative types of research. American demographers have devoted major resources over the last decade to examining the social and psychological determinants of American fertility patterns. It is generally believed that the associations so far established between fertility and socio-economic factors have been more revealing than those involving psychological variables.⁸ As a result, much attention has been directed to seeing how the latter aspect of fertility behavior might be clarified.

That the psychological concomitants of fertility are central to any adequate system of explanation is obvious. Nevertheless, we may be confronted with a problem of practical emphasis. A little-observed advantage of focusing on social and economic categories is that their distribution in the population is often known. Accordingly, given the fertility behavior within these categories, it is generally possible to deal with fertility in the aggregate. No comparable possibility is now in sight on the psychological side. In this sense attempts to analyze fertility in psychological depth, even if successful, may have only limited bearing on our ability to forecast its course in the large.

⁷ Probably no method of projections could have served in 1940 to forecast the subsequent rise in American fertility. But if there is any one class of neglected variables which might have led to markedly improved results, I suspect it would be economic in nature. The influence of the post-1940 trends in income size and distribution and in consumer credit has never been examined in detail, although the available data are reasonably abundant.

⁸ C. V. Kiser and P. K. Whelpton, "Résumé of the Indianapolis Study of Social and Psychological Factors Affecting Fertility," *Population Studies*, 7 (November, 1953), pp. 95-110.

SELF CONCEPT AS AN INSULATOR AGAINST DELINQUENCY *

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THIS study is concerned with sixth-grade boys¹ in the highest delinquency areas in Columbus, Ohio, who have not become delinquent and who are not expected to become delinquent. What insulates an early teen-age boy against delinquency? Is it possible to identify certain components that enable young adolescent boys to develop or maintain non-delinquent habits and patterns of behavior in the growing up process.

METHODOLOGY

In order to study the non-delinquent boy, all 30 sixth-grade teachers in schools located in the highest white delinquency areas in Columbus were asked to nominate those white boys in their school rooms who would not, in their opinion, ever experience police or juvenile court contact. Treating each nominee separately, the teachers were then requested to indicate their reasons for the selection of a particular boy. Of the eligible students, 192, or just over half, were selected and evaluated by their teachers as being "insulated" against delinquency. A check of police and juvenile court records revealed that 16 (8.3 per cent) of those nominated had some type of law enforcement record, and these boys were eliminated from further consideration. Repeated neighborhood visits failed to locate 51 others. In the remaining cases both the boy and his mother were interviewed.

The 125 "good" boys comprising the final sample were given a series of four self-administered scales to complete. These in-

cluded, in somewhat modified form, (1) the delinquency proneness and (2) social responsibility scales of the Gough² California Personality Inventory, (3) an occupational preference instrument,³ (4) and one measuring the boy's conception of self, his family and other interpersonal relations.⁴ At the same time, though not in the presence of the nominee, the mother or mother-surrogate was interviewed with an open-ended schedule to determine the boy's developmental history, his patterns of association, and the family situation. (Now nearing completion is a comparable study of sixth-grade boys in the same classrooms who were nominated by the same teachers as being likely to come into contact with the police and juvenile court.)

FINDINGS

An analysis of the scores made by these 125 nominees on the delinquency vulnera-

² For a detailed description of the delinquency proneness scale see Harrison G. Gough, "Systematic Validation of a Test for Delinquency," reprint of a paper delivered at the annual meeting of the American Psychological Association, September, 1954; Harrison G. Gough and Donald Peterson, "The Identification and Measurement of Predispositional Factors in Crime and Delinquency," *Journal of Consulting Psychology*, 16:1952, pp. 207-212; and Harrison G. Gough, "A Sociological Theory of Psychopathy," *American Journal of Sociology*, 53:1948, pp. 359-366. In correspondence with us, Gough suggested the inclusion of the social responsibility scale as a "partial index of the 'social control' factor in personality . . . (and) an index of delinquency proneness based upon both scales would be a better measure for your study." Both scales were used with Gough's expressed permission and consent.

³ This instrument was developed in a study of juvenile vulnerability to delinquency. See James E. Morlock, *Predicting Delinquency in a Homogeneous Group of Pre-Adolescent Boys*, Doctoral Dissertation, The Ohio State University, 1947.

⁴ This measure was based in part on the Glueck findings concerning family variables and delinquency. See Sheldon and Eleanor Glueck, *Unraveling Juvenile Delinquency*, New York: The Commonwealth Fund, 1950.

* Paper read at the annual meeting of the American Sociological Society, September, 1956. This research was supported by a grant from The Ohio State University Development Fund.

¹ Sixth-grade students were selected for study because they represent the threshold age group for entry into legal and social delinquency. In Columbus, Ohio, the delinquency rate doubles between the ages of 11 and 12. For details on age and census tract rates see John S. Ely, *An Ecological Study of Juvenile Delinquency in Franklin County*, Master's Thesis, The Ohio State University, 1952.

bility (De) and social responsibility (Re) scales seemed to justify their selection as "good" boys. Out of a possible total (De) score of 54, scores ranged from a low of 4 to a high of 34 with a mean of 14.57 and a standard deviation of 6.4. This mean score was significantly lower than that of school behavior problem boys, young delinquents or reformatory inmates investigated in other studies. In fact, the average De score of the sample subjects was below that obtained in all but one previous study using the same scale.⁵

For a twelve year old group, the nominees scored remarkably high on the social responsibility scale. The mean Re score for the group was 28.86 with a standard deviation of 3.60 and a range of 12 to 40 out of a possible 42 points. This mean score was appreciably higher than that achieved by school disciplinary cases, delinquents, and prisoners tested in other studies. The correlation between the two sets of scores was $-.605$, indicating a significant and negative relationship between delinquency vulnerability and social responsibility as measured by these instruments.

In response to self-evaluation items, the 125 boys portrayed themselves as law-abiding and obedient. Specifically, the vast majority defined themselves as being stricter about right and wrong than most people, indicated that they attempted to keep out of trouble at all costs and further indicated that they tried to conform to the expectations of their parents, teachers and others.⁶ The nominees did not conceive of themselves as prospects for juvenile court action or detention,⁷ and they stated that their participa-

tion in such activities as stealing had been minimal and that their friends were either entirely or almost completely free of police and juvenile court contact.⁸ As part of their conformity pattern, the respondents rarely played "hookey" from school and almost without exception indicated a liking for school. Finally, the "good" boys visualized themselves as being about average in ability, activity level, and aggressiveness. When asked "What do you think keeps boys out of trouble?" the respondents listed parental direction (a good home), non-deviant companions, and work, as well as other conventional answers. It would therefore appear that the internalization of these non-deviant attitudes played a significant role in the "insulation" of these boys.

Nominee perceptions of family interaction also appeared to be highly favorable. As noted in a previous paper, the 125 families were stable maritally, residentially, and economically.⁹ There appeared to be close parental supervision of the boys' activities and associates, an intense parental interest in the welfare of the children, and a desire to indoctrinate them with non-deviant attitudes and patterns. This parental supervision and interest seemed to be the outstanding characteristic of the family profiles. It extended over the entire range of their sons' activities—from friendship patterns, leisure activities, and after school employment to movie attendance and the performance of well-defined duties at home. Thus, as regards companions for example, the mothers almost without exception stated that they knew the boys' friends, that these friends were good boys and that, in fact, the boys couldn't have chosen better companions. The mothers also knew the whereabouts of their sons at almost all times and many insisted on this knowledge.

Despite this intensive supervision, the boys did not feel themselves to be unduly restricted. In general, the nominees appeared

⁵ Based on data furnished by Gough.

⁶ Nearly 60 per cent of the boys thought they were stricter about right and wrong than most people; 85 per cent tried to escape trouble at all costs; 81 per cent stressed their obedience to their parents' wishes, and 81 per cent were concerned with the reaction of friends and others to their behavior. These and other data were based on responses to items in one or more of the four instruments used.

⁷ For example, 70 per cent of the boys in answering the questions on the Morlock scale seemed certain that they would never be brought before the Juvenile court; only one respondent believed he would have future contact with the court. Two-thirds indicated certainly about never being taken to jail. Some 57 per cent did not rule out the possibility of becoming policemen.

⁸ In only 12 per cent of the cases had any of the friends of these boys experienced police or juvenile court contact.

⁹ For a complete discussion of the family backgrounds of the nominees see Walter C. Reckless, Simon Dinitz, and Ellen Murray, "The 'Good Boy' in a High Delinquency Area," accepted for publication in the *Journal of Criminal Law, Criminology, and Police Science*.

satisfied with the amount of parental affection and attention and with the quality of discipline and punishment given them. They viewed their home life as pleasant and their parents as understanding.

Low and high scorers on the delinquency proneness scale and their respective mothers did not differ significantly in their evaluations of these various aspects of family interaction. Of the 22 home background variables tested—ranging from the percentage of boys from broken homes to parental favoritism—none was found to be significantly related to the delinquency proneness scores. This finding was hardly surprising in view of the non-representative character of the sample group and the relatively small amount of variation in the family settings. It may also well be that in defining his interpersonal and family relationships favorably, the "good" boy, regardless of the degree of his "goodness" as measured by various scales, is in fact expressing the positive attitudes and perceptions that are important components in his "goodness."

While there was no appreciable variation in aspects of family interaction between the low and high scorers, the boys as a group and their mothers as a group did differ significantly in some of their evaluations. These differences were largely centered around the activity level of the boys, the definitions of the fairness and severity of parental punishment, and the amount of bickering in the home. Mothers thought their sons to be more active, punishment to be less frequent and severe, and parental tranquility to be more pervasive than did the nominees. Most significantly, perhaps, the mothers expressed less satisfaction with the role played by the boys' fathers than did the boys. Briefly, the mothers pictured their husbands as being relatively aloof and rigid in their affectional relationships with their sons. The nominees, however, could not differentiate between their parents in this regard.

These divergences in perceptions may largely reflect age, sex, and role differences in expectations of what constitutes satisfac-

tory family relationships. Consequently, predictive tables based on the parents' conceptions of the boy and his relationships would necessarily be different in many particulars from those based on the boys' conceptions.

CONCLUSION

"Insulation" against delinquency on the part of these boys may be viewed as an ongoing process reflecting an internalization of non-delinquent values and conformity to the expectations of significant others. Whether the subjects, now largely unreceptive to delinquent norms of conduct, will continue to remain "good" in the future remains problematic. The answer to this question, it is felt, will depend on their ability to maintain their present self-images in the face of mounting situational pressures.¹⁰

While this pilot study points to the presence of a socially acceptable concept of self as the insulator against delinquency, the research does not indicate how the boy in the high delinquency area acquired his self image. It may have been acquired by social definition of role from significant figures in his milieu, such as a mother, a relative, a priest, a settlement house worker, a teacher, etc. It might have been a by-product of effective socialization of the child, which had the good fortune of not misfiring. On the other hand, it may have been an outgrowth of discovery in social experience that playing the part of the good boy and remaining a good boy bring maximum satisfactions (of acceptance) to the boy himself. Finally, there is a strong suspicion that a well-developed concept of self as a "good boy" is the component which keeps middle- and upper-class boys, who live in the better neighborhoods, out of delinquency. The point is that this component seems to be strong enough to "insulate" the adolescent against delinquency in the unfavorable neighborhoods.

¹⁰ See Daniel Glaser, "Criminality Theories and Behavioral Images," *American Journal of Sociology*, 61 (March, 1956), pp. 433-444.

COMMUNICATIONS AND OPINION



COMMENT ON TUMIN'S REVIEW OF FAMILY AND FERTILITY IN PUERTO RICO

To the Editor:

For reasons of no particular interest to the reader, Professor Tumin worked especially hard on his review of *Family and Fertility in Puerto Rico*. (See *American Sociological Review*, 21 (June, 1956), p. 400.) His motivations, however, and not for the first time, seem to have dimmed his powers of perception. As is perfectly clear both from explicit statements in the text and from the nature of the materials, but not from the review, the study reported in this volume is of a qualitative and exploratory nature. It was designed primarily to gather by means of depth interviews data not amenable to refined statistical analysis and to provide some idea of profitable areas for research on a broader and more quantitative scale. This latter type of research is currently under way. Criticizing the book for failing to concentrate on differential fertility misses the point both of qualitative studies in general and the present study in particular. It should be noted in passing that although the reviewer is disturbed at the paucity of cross-sorts on such factors as fertility and "internal differences," when cross-sorts are presented he objects that the sample is unrepresentative and therefore any conclusions are worthless. To be charitable as regards the thought processes of the reviewer, it can only be concluded that he sees no point in exploratory studies.

In attacking the concept of *machismo*, the reviewer evidences prodigious industry in beating a dead horse. On the page 246 he cites, it is noted that "The complex would not seem to have the importance, ascribed to it before the field investigation, of driving men to produce a limitless quantity of children."

Often the viewpoint of a critic who has no personal background in the subject matter under discussion is refreshing, since he brings to bear new insights from a different frame of reference. In other cases, understandably, the viewpoint is simply naive. Readers of the book are left to decide in which category Professor Tumin's comments fall.

J. MAYONE STYCOS

St. Lawrence University

COMMENT ON HAKEEM'S REVIEW OF GROUP PROBLEMS IN CRIME AND PUNISHMENT

To the Editor:

I published my first book in 1912 and have since produced a dozen or so other books. In no single instance have I so far complained to an Editor about an unfavorable review. The criticisms of my recent book, *Group Problems in Crime and Punishment*, (*American Sociological Review*, August, 1956, p. 529) by Mr. Michael Hakeem, however, force me to protest against certain statements which I regard as incorrect and misleading.

The reviewer is right in complaining that one of the thirteen chapters of my book, reproducing an essay first published in 1936 under the title "Lombroso and His Place in Modern Criminology" has not been brought up-to-date. The reason, which was of course unknown to Mr. Hakeem, was that the inclusion of this essay was originally not intended; it was only shortly before the manuscript of the book had to be sent to the printer that this essay was included in the place of another paper which had to be omitted because of its length. It was too late then to revise the Lombroso paper, and this last minute change may explain, though it does not excuse, my failure to draw attention to this fact in my preface. The reviewer, however, in singling out this chapter to justify his charge that "revision appears on the whole to have been quite limited" gives the totally wrong impression that very little of the material included in this collection has been brought up-to-date. In fact, I have taken great trouble to provide each of the remaining twelve chapters, with the exception of material published shortly before the appearance of the book, with footnote references to recent literature and in many cases also with newly written introductions and/or postscripts. Most other reviewers have favorably commented upon this.

I am also surprised to read in the review that "there is no central sociological concept—neither 'group' nor any other—to serve as a 'leitmotiv.'" Even in those few articles in which he discusses 'group problems' there is only a tenuous connection with the sociological concept of the group." Here I can only say that the reviewer, blinded by his sociological jargon, has failed to

see the wood for the trees. It is significant in this respect that in his very incomplete list of chapters, which even he had to accept as discussions of group problems, the chapter on "American Criminology" is omitted, a chapter to which special attention has been drawn by several distinguished American reviewers and which deals, among other matters, especially with the Negro crime problem—a subject which, in the eyes of the reviewer, has apparently not even a "tenuous" connection with "group problems"! He is also likely to remain in a minority of one when he fails to discover a discussion of group problems in the lengthy chapter on "Sociological Aspects of the Criminal Law."

Particularly puzzling is the reviewer's further criticism of my "strong reluctance to be critical"—puzzling no doubt to all those who are more familiar with my writings, especially with previous books such as *The Dilemma of Penal Reform* or *Criminal Justice and Social Reconstruction*, and puzzling perhaps also to one of Mr. Hakeem's senior colleagues who, in a review of *Group Problems* has described my work as "provocative." Surely, a writer who is "very reluctant to be critical" will find it rather difficult to be provocative. However, Mr. Hakeem may rest assured that I am not reluctant to be critical of his review. HERMANN MANNHEIM

University of London

OFFICIAL REPORTS AND PROCEEDINGS



Announcing
MacIVER LECTURESHIP
to
E. FRANKLIN FRAZIER
1956

The MacIver Lectureship of the American Sociological Society is awarded to the sociologist "who, in the opinion of the Selection Committee, has contributed outstandingly to the progress of sociology by his published or unpublished work during the past two years, and is qualified to inform the academic community or the educated public concerning current achievements and work in progress in sociology."

The Award carries an honorarium of five hundred dollars, and the recipient, in addition, undertakes to deliver a public lecture at a meeting of an affiliated regional society other than that of his own region.

The Selection Committee has concluded its deliberations, and its recommendation has been approved by the Council. I deem it a privilege to announce that the MacIver Lectureship of the American Sociological Society for 1956 is awarded to E. Franklin Frazier for his book *Bourgeoisie Noire*. Published in France in October of 1955, and shortly to appear in English, this distinguished essay on the Negro middle class conforms to the highest standards of scholarship in the field of sociology.

It is a distinct pleasure to greet and to congratulate its author as the recipient of the first MacIver Award of the Society.

HERBERT BLUMER,
President

September 8, 1956

**PROCEEDINGS OF THE 51ST ANNUAL MEETING OF THE AMERICAN
SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY, HELD AT STATLER, HOTEL,
DETROIT, MICHIGAN, SEPTEMBER 7, 8, 9, 1956**

*First Meeting of the 1956 Council—
September 6, 1956*

The first Detroit meeting of the 1956 Council was called to order on September 6, 1956, at 10 a.m. by President Herbert Blumer. The following members of the 1956 Council were present: Reinhard Bendix, Robert Bierstedt, Gordon Blackwell, Herbert Blumer, Leonard Broom, Hugh Carter, Kingsley Davis, Thomas Eliot, Mabel Elliott, Amos Hawley, Clifford Kirkpatrick, William Kolb, Alfred Lee, Harvey Locke, Robert Merton, Meyer Nimkoff, Stuart Queen, David Riesman, Calvin Schmid, Raymond Sletto, Wellman Warner, Robin Williams, Donald Young; and Matilda Riley, *ex officio*. The following members of the 1957 Council were also able to be present: Robert Faris, August Hollingshead. Also present were: Leonard Cottrell, Editor of *Sociometry* and Russell Sage Foundation bulletins; Raymond Bowers, representative to the American Association for the Advancement of Science; Wilbur Brookover, Chairman, Liaison Committee on Sociology in Education; P. K. Whelpton and Harold Christensen, Co-Chairmen, Committee on Marriage and Divorce Statistics; John A. Clausen, representative to Joint Committee on Public Health and Behavioral Sciences; Dudley Kirk, Chairman, Committee on Social Statistics; Peter Lejins, Representative to American Correctional Association and National Conference on Parole; E. William Noland, Chairman, Committee on Research; Guy E. Swanson, Chairman, Committee on Implications of Legislation that Licenses or Certifies Psychologists; and T. H. Marshall, President of the British Sociological Association.

1. President Blumer announced the presence at these meetings of T. H. Marshall, President of the British Sociological Association and Director of the Unesco Department of Social Sciences. Professor Marshall was invited to attend the meeting of the Council.

2. The President was authorized to appoint the 1956 Committee on Resolutions and named Stuart Queen, Chairman; Calvin Schmid, and William Kolb.

3. The Secretary's report, including a summary of the interim actions taken by the Council and Executive Committee since the last meeting of the Society was read and accepted.

4. The report of the Executive Officer was read and accepted with appreciation.

5. The reports of the several Editors were then

read and accepted: reports by Leonard Broom, Editor of the *American Sociological Review*, and by Leonard Cottrell, Editor of *Sociometry* and of the *Russell Sage Foundation* bulletins.

6. Reports were accepted from the Membership Committee, Raymond Sletto, Chairman; and the Committee on Training and Professional Standards, Everett Hughes, Chairman.

7. William Noland summarized the report of the Committee on Research. Following the recommendations of this Committee, the Council voted appreciation to Leo Chall for his service to the profession as Editor of *Sociological Abstracts*. The Council also approved the Committee's recommendation that the 1957 Committee on Research continue to explore the feasibility of preparing critical appraisals of current research in selected areas. The proposal that members of this Committee be appointed for a three-year, rather than a one-year term, was referred to the Committee on Committees for consideration and for recommendation if this was deemed feasible in respect to this or other standing Committees of the Society.

8. Discussion of the report of the Selection Committee on the MacIver Award, Robert Bierstedt, Chairman, was tabled until the Council meeting on September 7 or 8.

9. Reports were accepted from the Committee on Classification, Stuart Queen, Chairman, and the Committee on Relations with Sociologists in Other Countries, Talcott Parsons, Chairman.

10. President-Elect Robert Merton reported the plans of the 1957 Program Committee. The American Sociological Society had originally set two tentative locations for the 1957 meetings, Miami Beach and Washington, D. C. The former had been selected because it would provide the opportunity to meet jointly with the American Psychological Association. He noted that the American Psychological Association had just reversed its decision to meet in Miami Beach in 1957. Thereupon, the Council voted to hold the 1957 annual meeting in the alternate location of Washington, D. C.

11. The report of the Committee on Social Statistics was read by Dudley Kirk, Chairman, and accepted by the Council. In line with its recommendations, the Committee was instructed by the Council 1) to cooperate with the corresponding committees of related societies in coordinating recommendations for the 1960 Census, 2) to conduct, at its discretion, a survey or sample survey for the purpose of reflecting the wishes of the members of the Society as to the content and definitions of the 1960 Census, and 3) to report, in the name of the Society, the results of such an inquiry to the Bureau of the Census.

12. The Council accepted the report of the Committee on Marriage and Divorce Statistics, P. K.

Whelpton and Harold Christensen, Co-Chairmen. In line with Committee recommendations, various actions were taken as follows:

- (1) The Society should make every effort to maintain its working relationship with the Public Health Conference on Records and Statistics.
- (2) The Society's Committee on Marriage and Divorce Statistics should be continued with its members appointed for two or three year terms so as to provide continuity.
- (3) The Society's representation on the Working Group on Marriage and Divorce of the Public Health Conference on Records and Statistics should be designated by and/or be a member of this Committee.
- (4) If the Marriage Registration Area and the Divorce and Annulment Registration Area, both of which are being actively planned, are established in time, an effort should be made in the 1960 Census to collect information for the purpose of testing the completeness and accuracy of such records in the registration area states. This might be done along the same lines as were followed in 1940 and 1950 in testing the accuracy of birth registration area figures.
- (5) The proposal that the Society provide space in the Review and/or publish a pamphlet on the sociological implications of nationwide marriage and divorce statistics was referred to the Publications Committee, and finally
- (6) The proposal that the Society provide the Committee with funds in order to finance one or more possible meetings each year was referred to the Executive Committee.

13. The Council accepted the report of the Liaison Committee on Sociology in Education, Wilbur Brookover, Chairman.

14. A report was accepted as read by Guy Swanson, Chairman of the Committee on Implications of Legislation that Licenses or Certifies Psychologists. This reviews the existing legislation for the licensing or certifying of psychologists as this may have implications for sociologists. The Council voted to ask the Executive Committee to devise suitable machinery for keeping in touch with legislative developments and for recommending action when necessary.

15. An interim report of the Liaison Committee to the American Bar Foundation was made by Herbert Blumer in the absence of Joseph Lohman, Chairman.

16. The Council then heard and accepted the reports from the Society's representatives as follows: Social Science Research Council, Robert Faris, senior representative
International Sociological Association, Robert Angell, delegate

American Correctional Association and National Conference on Parole, Peter Lejins, representative

Dewey Decimal System, Mapheus Smith, representative

American Association for the Advancement of Science, Raymond Bowers, representative

American Council of Learned Societies, Robert Angell, representative, and Wellman Warner, Secretary.

Joint Committee on Public Health and the Behavioral Sciences, John Clausen, representative.

Several actions were taken in line with these last reports:

- (1) An invitation was accepted from the American Association for the Advancement of Science for the Society to sponsor a session at the December 1956 meetings. This matter of arranging such a session was referred to President-Elect Merton.
- (2) The Council voted to continue the Society's membership in the American Council of Learned Societies for another year.

A proposal by the Committee on Public Health for a volume of readings was referred to the Publications Committee, and a request for funds from the representative to the National Conference on Parole was referred to the Executive Committee.

17. A proposal for social science conclaves for smaller colleges was referred to the Executive Committee, with the suggestion that they might appoint a special committee to investigate possibilities.

18. The Council voted to submit to the membership two sets of changes in the Society's Constitution and By-Laws, as recommended by the Executive Committee:

- (1) A change in Article V, Section 8 of the By-Laws, which aims to provide machinery for the sale or transfer of the Society's stock. This change will be recommended at this Business Meeting.
- (2) A series of changes in the Constitution and By-Laws designed to provide for one Vice-President instead of two as at present, to extend the term of the Vice-President from one year to two, and to make the Vice-President a member of the Executive Committee as well as of the Council. The members will be asked to vote on these changes by mail, since proposed amendments to the Constitution must be communicated to the voting membership at least fifty days prior to the vote on the amendments.

The meeting was adjourned at 5:00 p.m.

Respectfully submitted,
WELLMAN J. WARNER
Secretary

Second Meeting of the 1956 Council— September 7, 1956

The second Detroit meeting of the 1956 Council was called to order on September 7, 1956, at 4:30 p.m. by President Herbert Blumer. The following members of the 1956 Council

were present: Reinhard Bendix, Robert Bierstedt, Gordon Blackwell, Herbert Blumer, Leonard Broom, Hugh Carter, William Cole, Kingsley Davis, Thomas Eliot, Mabel Elliott, Margaret Hagood, Amos Hawley, Clifford Kirkpatrick, William Kolb, Alfred Lee, Harvey Locke, Robert Merton, Lowry Nelson, Meyer Nimkoff, Stuart Queen, David Riesman, Calvin Schmid, Raymond Sletto, Wellman Warner, Robin Williams, Donald Young; and Matilda Riley, *ex officio*. The following members of the 1957 Council were also able to be present: Robert Faris, W. F. Cottrell, Harry Alpert, August Hollingshead. Also present were: Leonard Cottrell, Editor of *Sociometry* and Russell Sage Foundation bulletins; Katharine Jocher, Chairman, Committee on Publications; P. K. Whelpton and Harold Christensen, Co-Chairmen, Committee on Marriage and Divorce Statistics; and T. H. Marshall, President of the British Sociological Association and Director of Social Science Department, UNESCO.

1. The report of the Publications Committee was read by Katharine Jocher and accepted by the Council. The Council voted to recommend to the membership by mail a series of Constitutional and By-Law additions, concerning the composition and method of selecting the Board of Editors of *Sociometry*, along the following lines:

The Editor is elected by the Council for a term arranged by the Council;

The Editor becomes a member of the Council;

The Editorial Board consists of the Editor and no less than ten Associate Editors; the Associate Editors serve terms of three years, staggered so that the terms of office of at least three terminate each year. Reappointment is permitted on recommendation of the Editor and approval by the Council;

Associate Editors are elected by the Council from a list of recommendations by the Editor and others nominated by the Council;

The Editor may appoint such editorial consultants and special assistants as he may see fit.

2. The Chairman of the Selection Committee was instructed to report the decision on the MacIver Award to the President, the President-Elect, and the Secretary, who will act on behalf of the Council in this matter.

3. An additional recommendation from the Committee on Marriage and Divorce Statistics was approved as follows: The incoming Committee will be given authority to add auxiliary members to the Committee, one from each regional society, to be appointed by the Committee on consultation with the president of each regional society.

4. The Committee on Resolutions was asked to draft a resolution for submission to the membership expressing appreciation to the National Science Foundation.

5. The proposed resolution to the International Sociological Association was laid on the table.

6. It was voted that, the second United States

delegate to the International Sociological Association who will be elected by the Council of the American Sociological Society, will be nominated by the following procedure until such time as the Council may change the plan: In alternate years he will be nominated by the Rural Sociological Society and the Society for the Study of Social Problems (with alternate delegates nominated by the other of these two societies in each case).

7. William Kolb, as the American editor, reported on a dictionary which is in preparation in both English and French in an effort to standardize social science terminology.

The meeting was adjourned at 6:15 p.m.

Respectfully submitted,
WELLMAN J. WARNER
Secretary

The First Meeting of the 1957 Council September 8, 1956

The Detroit meeting of the new 1957 Council was called to order by President Robert Merton on September 8, 1956, at 5:00 p.m. The following members were present: Harry Alpert, Robert Bierstedt, Herbert Blumer, Leonard Broom, Hugh Carter, William Cole, Leonard Cottrell, W. F. Cottrell, Kingsley Davis, Thomas Eliot, Mabel Elliott, Robert Faris, Amos Hawley, Clifford Kirkpatrick, William Kolb, Alfred Lee, Robert Merton, Stuart Queen, Calvin Schmid, Raymond Sletto, Wellman Warner, Robin Williams; and Matilda Riley, *ex officio*.

1. Following the recommendation of the Committee on Publications, the Council voted to ask the Russell Sage Foundation for further funds to support the continuation of the Bulletin series.

2. The report of the Resolutions Committee, Stuart Queen, Chairman, was accepted and scheduled for action by the membership at the annual Business Meeting.

3. The Council recommended that the President write letters expressing appreciation for the fine work both of Bryce Ryan and the diLido Hotel in making the arrangements for a 1957 meeting in Miami Beach.

4. The President was authorized to designate the Chairmen of the several 1957 Committees.

5. Candidates for Council elections were proposed by a Committee on Committees consisting of Robert Faris, Chairman; Harry Alpert, Hugh Carter, Clifford Kirkpatrick, Raymond Sletto. This Committee had polled the Council for suggestions in advance. The following persons were elected to the posts indicated:

Executive Committee: Amos Hawley, Raymond Sletto.

Associate Editors of the Review: Manford Kuhn, Clarence Schrag, Melvin Seeman, Vincent Whitney. Otis Dudley Duncan was elected to serve for one additional year in the absence of William Sewell.

Associate Editors of Sociometry: (for term ending in 1957) Herbert Hyman, Irving Janis, William Sewell; (for term ending in 1958) Robert Freed Bales, Herbert Blumer, Theodore Newcomb; (for term ending in 1959) John Clausen, Leon Festinger, Nelson Foote, Frederick Mosteller.

Budget Committee: Robert Bierstedt, Stuart Queen, Donald Young.

Classification Committee: Maurice Davie.

1958 Program Committee: Robert Dubin, Wilbert Moore, Nathan Whetten.

Committee on Training and Professional Standards: Raymond Bowers, Leonard Cottrell, Maurice Davie, Margaret Hagood, Everett Hughes, Elbridge Sibley.

Selection Committee on Awards: Ernest W. Burgess, Charles Page.

Liaison Committee on Sociology in Education: Wilbur Brookover, Theodore Caplow, Lloyd Cook, Earl Johnson, John Kinneman, Paul Meadows, Leslie Zeleny.

The Executive Committee was asked to appoint additional members during the year on the recommendation of the Chairman of the Committee.

Committee on Relations with Sociologists in Other Countries: Robert Angell, Howard Becker, Jessie Bernard, Herbert Blumer, Theodore Caplow, H. Warren Dunham, Mabel Elliott, Delbert Miller, Talcott Parsons, Arnold Rose, T. Lynn Smith, Irene Taeuber, Kurt Wolff, Donald Young.

Committee on Social Statistics: Donald Bogue, Hope Eldridge, Philip Hauser, A. J. Jaffe, Dudley Kirk, Daniel Price, Stuart Rice.

Committee on Marriage and Divorce Statistics: Harold Christensen, G. Franklin Edwards, Reuben Hill, Clifford Kirkpatrick, Dorothy Swaine Thomas, P. K. Whelpton.

Director of the Social Science Research Council: Robert Faris.

6. The actions of the 1957 Council will be ratified by mail since they were taken before the Council formally took office.

The meeting was adjourned at 6:00 p.m.

Respectfully submitted,

WELLMAN J. WARNER
Secretary

MINUTES OF THE BUSINESS MEETINGS OF THE SOCIETY

The first Detroit business meeting of the Society was called to order September 8, 1956, at 11 a.m. by President Blumer.

The minutes of the last business meeting of the Society were approved as published in the *Review*.

The report of the Secretary, including a report of the interim actions of the Society, was accepted as read.

The minutes of the September 6 and September 7 Council meetings were approved as read by the Secretary, and a proposed change in the By-Laws was laid on the table for action at the September 8 business meeting.

It was announced that the next annual meeting of the Society will be held at the Shoreham Hotel, Washington, D. C., August 27-29, 1957.

Reports were accepted as read by the Executive Officer and the Editor of the *American Sociological Review*.

The meeting was declared adjourned at 12 noon.

Respectfully submitted,

WELLMAN J. WARNER
Secretary

The second business meeting of the Society was called to order September 9, 1956, at 11 a.m. by President Blumer.

It was voted to amend Article V, Section 8, of the By-Laws, in line with the Council recommendation, so that it reads as follows:

The Council shall annually appoint a Committee on Budget and Investment. The Chairman of the Committee shall be a member of the Executive Committee, provided that the President, the Editor of the *Review* and the Executive Officer shall not be appointed as Chairman of this Committee. The Committee in cooperation with the President, the Executive Officer, and the Editor of the *Review*, shall annually propose to the Council a budget for the ensuing year. At the end of the first half of each fiscal year, it shall review the receipts and expenditures to date and if necessary make recommendations for adjustments in the budget. It shall supervise the banking activities of the Society and shall have the responsibility and the authority for the investment and the reinvestment of funds owned by or held by the Society.

Reports, as published below, were read by the Editor of *Sociometry*; the Editor of the Russell Sage Foundation bulletins; the Chairmen of the Committees on Membership, Publications, the Implications of Legislation that Licenses or Certifies Psychologists, and the Society's representatives to the Social Science Research Council, the American Correctional Association, and the National Conference on Parole.

The following resolutions, as proposed by the Resolutions Committee, were adopted:

1. The American Sociological Society notes with satisfaction the extension of the program of the National Science Foundation to include research support and graduate fellowships in selected social science areas, such as Anthropology, Demography, Experimental Social Psychology, Sociology of Science, Human Ecology, and related disciplines.

Be it therefore resolved that the American Sociological Society hereby express its appreciation of

the recognition and assistance extended to the social sciences, and that the Foundation be further commended for its emphasis on basic research in our field. Be it further resolved that the American Sociological Society express its hope that the National Science Foundation's program be further broadened in the immediate future to include the social sciences proper in addition to the areas of convergence with the natural sciences.

2. In recent years rapid growth of the American Sociological Society has increased the task of program-making and local arrangements. Nevertheless, the persons and groups concerned with these problems have responsibly and successfully met the challenge.

Be it therefore resolved that this Society record its gratitude to the Program Committee, the Committee on Local Arrangements under the chairmanship of Edgar A. Schuler, and the Statler Hotel.

It was announced that the registration at the meetings had reached 971.

The meeting was adjourned at 12:00 noon.

Respectfully submitted,
WELLMAN J. WARNER
Secretary

REPORT OF THE SECRETARY

The affairs of the Society subsequent to the Washington meeting, insofar as they have involved policy decisions, have been conducted by the Executive Committee and the Council. Following is a report of the actions taken by them since September, 1955, and other matters of official record:

I. INTERIM ACTIONS TAKEN BY THE COUNCIL AND EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE—1955-1956

1. The Minutes of the 1956 Council meetings at Washington, D. C., were approved by mail ballot and have been published in the December 1955 issue of the *Review*.

2. In regard to *future annual meetings*, the following actions were taken:

- (a) In regard to the *general arrangements* of future annual meetings, the Council unanimously approved the Executive Committee's proposal that the Council or Executive Committee should determine the general location of each meeting, but that the selection of the headquarters site and the arrangement of details should be left in the hands of the Executive Office, the Secretary, and the President-Elect who will be responsible for the meeting.
- (b) The Executive Committee decided to investigate possible alternative *arrangements for 1957* in view of the plan of the American Psychological Association to meet at Miami Beach in 1957. Following the Committee's

instructions, suitable hotel arrangements were made, widespread non-discrimination assurances were obtained, and the groundwork was laid for some joint program planning with the psychologists. In line with the recommendations of the Executive Committee, the Council voted to meet in Miami Beach with the American Psychological Association in 1957, with Washington, D. C., set up as a possible alternative location. The Executive Committee approved the selection of the diLido Hotel in view of its union contract with the hotel workers, and elected Bryce Ryan as Chairman of the Local Arrangements Committee for 1957.

- (c) The Council voted to meet on the West Coast in 1958, and selected as a site the University of Washington where completely adequate housing and meeting space (with adjacent optional hotel facilities) are available at the proper time. The Executive Committee elected Robert Faris, Chairman of the Local Arrangements Committee for 1958.
- (d) In regard to the 1959 meeting the Council unanimously approved the Executive Committee's recommendation that appropriate arrangements be made in an East Coast City. The Secretary and Executive Office have, accordingly, concluded preliminary negotiations in Washington, D. C., and the Executive Committee has elected Parker Mauldin and Paul Myers Co-Chairmen of the 1959 Local Arrangements Committee.

3. Various actions were taken concerning the *relationship* between the American Sociological Society and *various other organizations*:

- (a) In regard to a proposal from the *American Statistical Association*, regarding a joint printed program and joint registration at the Detroit meetings, the Executive Committee agreed that every cooperation should be given within the limits of the Society's budget. The printed program should include a name index and a one-page overview of the Society's sessions.
- (b) The Council elected Robert Angell as delegate and Franklin Frazier as alternate delegate to the Council of the *International Sociological Association*, to serve terms of three years from 1956-1959. The Council made its selection from a list of eight names proposed by the Executive Committee.
- (c) The matter of the *American Association for Advancement of Science* section under which the Society should be listed was laid on the table by the Executive Committee pending a further report from Raymond Bowers, the Society's representative.
- (d) The President was asked by the Executive Committee to appoint a Committee to keep in touch with the *legislative activities of the American Psychological Association* in establishing standards for psychological practice. This Committee is to report to the Council at its Detroit meeting. The Committee members, as appointed, are: Guy E. Swanson,

Chairman; Theodore Newcomb, Elbridge Sibley.

- (e) The Secretary was instructed to investigate the *American Psychological Association's* plan for accident, income and health insurance for its members, and to report to the Council.
 - (f) The Executive Office reported preliminary correspondence with the *American Psychological Association* regarding possible exchange of information for the *Employment Bulletin*. The Executive Committee instructed the Office to maintain close liaison with the American Psychological Association secretariat.
 - (g) In response to a request from the *Society for the Study of Social Problems*, an announcement of their award will be made, together with the MacIver Award announcement, at the Detroit Presidential session. The Executive Office was instructed to enclose a printed SSSP leaflet in a Society member mailing when this can be done without entailing extra postage cost.
 - (h) The Secretary and the Executive Office were instructed by the Executive Committee to negotiate with the *Society for the Study of Social Problems* regarding inclusion in the printed program and the Society's registration procedure.
4. A number of decisions were made in regard to the Society's publication program:
- (a) The question of increased biographical information in the Society's *Directory* was deferred by the Executive Committee until the next edition, in view of the present plans of American Men of Science to publish a social science volume.
 - (b) The Editor of the *Review* again emphasized the Society's need for a house organ which would carry professional articles as well as news items. This matter is under study by the Committee on Publications and will be reported to the Council.
 - (c) The Executive Committee expressed its interest in a report from the Society's Publications Committee that the *Population Association* is considering the publication of a *journal on demography*. At the Committee's instruction, a letter was written to the Population Association, saying that the Society would look with favor upon such publication by the Association and that our further consideration of the matter would be contingent upon their decision.
5. (a) The 1956 *Budget* was authorized by the Council and published in the June *Review*. Prior to the Council authorization, the Executive Committee authorized the Executive Office to operate on an interim basis.
 - (b) The budget was reviewed in the middle of the fiscal year the Committee on Budget and Investment. Following the recommendation of this Committee, the Council voted to make no interim revisions.
 - (c) Pending a suitable revision in the Society's By-Laws, the Executive Committee voted to authorize the Budget Committee to buy or

sell securities in the name of the American Sociological Society.

6. The following actions were taken in connection with the Society's *Committees*:

- (a) The Council elected the following persons to membership on the Committee on Marriage and Divorce Statistics, in addition to those members previously elected: Harold T. Christensen, Peter Rossi, William Kephart, Thomas Monahan
- (b) In regard to the Committee on Relations with Sociologists in Other Countries, the following additions have been made by the Executive Committee in line with the Council suggestion that the Executive Committee designate additional members: Arnold Rose, Werner Cahnman, Howard Becker, Wolfram Eberhard, Meyer Nimkoff.
- (c) The Chairman of the Selection Committee on the MacIver Award asked the Executive Committee for advice in interpreting the phrase that the award be granted for published or unpublished work, "during the two preceding years." The Committee approved a flexible interpretation.
- (d) In response to a request from the American Bar Foundation, President Blumer was authorized by the Executive Committee to appoint a special committee to serve as expert consultants for a survey on the administration of criminal justice. The following members were appointed: Paul Tappan, Arthur Wood, Peter Lejins, Karl Schuessler, Philip Selznick, Lloyd Ohlin, Joseph Lohman, Chairman.
- (e) Following the mandate of the Executive Committee, the standard instructions to the Committee on Nominations and Elections were revised so as to suggest discretion on the part of the chairman in handling proposed candidates from the same institution.
- (f) The name of the *Committee on Liaison with the National Council for the Social Studies* was changed to Liaison Committee on Sociology in Education.
- (g) A proposal from Thomas Monahan was reported to the Committee to the effect that the Society should take the initiative in forming an interprofessional organization to work on the improvement of marriage and divorce statistics.

7. Two set of changes in the *Society's Constitution and By-Laws* were voted by the Executive Committee for consideration by the Council:

- (a) The first change aims to provide machinery for the sale or transfer of the Society's stock.
- (b) The second proposed set of changes would provide for one Vice-President instead of two as at present, would extend the term of the Vice-President from one year to two, and would make the Vice-President a member of the Executive Committee as well as of the Council.

The detailed changes as proposed are attached.

8. A variety of *other actions* were taken as follows:

- (a) With reference to a proposal from Robert Winch that the Society organize to *defend scholars under public attack*, the President and the Executive Office were instructed by the Executive Committee to keep in touch with any action taken by the American Psychological Association. The President was authorized to appoint a special committee to report to the Council on this matter if and when this seems necessary.
- (b) The Executive Committee approved the Secretary's proposal to send out a questionnaire to members regarding their professional activities, and such a questionnaire will be sent to members in the fall.
- (c) Herbert Blumer reported to the Executive Committee the case of a paper, prepared by Reinhard Bendix, which was first accepted by the International Sociological Association for its program, but subsequently rejected. The matter of a possible resolution to the International Sociological Association was put on the agenda for the Council at the Detroit meeting.
- (d) The Executive Committee voted to support the joint application with the other social science associations to the Carnegie Corporation for travel funds for international meetings.

In addition to these actions by the Council and Executive Committee, the President appointed Dudley Kirk as the official representative of the Society to the Council of Population and Housing Census Users.

II. ELECTIONS

1. The Committee on Nominations and Elections for 1956 reported the outcome of the balloting, and it is hereby incorporated in the record as follows:

President-Elect:	Robin M. Williams, Jr.
First Vice-President:	Kingsley Davis
Second Vice-President:	August B. Hollingshead
Committee on Publications:	Wilbert E. Moore
Members of Council:	Robert E. L. Faris
	Reuben Hill
	Harry Alpert
	W. F. Cottrell

2. The Committee on Nominations and Elections for 1957 has been named by President-Elect Robert K. Merton as follows:

Talcott Parsons,	Bernard Barber
Chairman	Bryce Ryan
Read Bain	Alfred R. Lindesmith
E. Franklin Frazier	Leo A. Goodman
Homer L. Hitt	Leonard Broom
Paul Meadows	Theodore M. Newcomb
Charles H. Page	Theodore F. Abel
Oswald Hall	Edgar A. Schuler

Members are urged to communicate their suggestions for the slate to one of the members of this Committee.

III. MEMORIAL RECORD

During the past year we have lost twenty-one of our colleagues and friends who were members of the Society. It is the Secretary's grievous duty to record the deaths of the following members:

Paul Barrabee	W. Carl Masche
Frank Bruno	Ivan McDougale
M. P. Carmichael	Harold D. McDowell
Robert C. Dexter	Herbert J. Moss
Henry Pratt Fairchild	Thomas A. C. Rennie
J. Francis Finnegan	Henry Schooley
Thomas L. Harris	Thomas L. Sidlo
Norman D. Humphrey	H. Sonnabend
Alfred C. Kinsey	Zdenek Ulrich
Lowell E. Muechtle	Emiko Julie Watanabe
Elbert A. Hughes	Willis

IV. SPECIAL SERVICES

The thanks of the Society have been extended to the following members who have represented it at various functions during the past year:

- Kurt W. Back—Inauguration of Ronald C. Bauer, President, Polytechnic Institute of Puerto Rico
- Ray E. Baber—Conference of Japan Sociological Society, Yokohama
- Robert Bierstedt—Inauguration of Hollis Leland Caswell, President, Teachers College, Columbia University
- Arthur T. Donohue—Seventy-fifth Anniversary of Founding of Marquette University, Wisconsin
- J. Eugene Gallery, S.J.—Inauguration of Very Reverend Vincent Francis Beatty, President, Loyola College, Baltimore
- William Kephart—Public Health Conference, Washington, D. C.
- Peter P. Lejins—National Conference on Parole
- Martin Loeb—Inauguration of Robert Eli Long, President, Park College, Missouri
- Frances Macgregor—National Health Forum, New York City
- E. William Noland—Representative to Supervisory Committee for Study of Operating International Center of Survey Research Materials, School of Library Service, Columbia University
- Eugene S. Richards—Inauguration of Samuel M. Nabrit, President, Texas Southern University, Houston
- Albert D. Ullman—First Academic Convocation, Tufts University, Medford, Massachusetts
- Austin Van der Slice—National Conference on Housing Census, Washington, D. C.

In addition, Recording for the Blind requested the Society to provide a list of outstanding books in the field of Sociology to be recorded for the blind. Edgar Borgatta undertook to compile such an unofficial list with the cooperation of twenty-six other members of the Society, a service warmly appreciated by the officials of the requesting organization and this Society.

V. MISCELLANEOUS

1. In response to a request of the Social Science Research Council the Society distributed to graduate

department chairmen 500 copies of the volume "German Social Science Digest."

2. Graduate School Enrollment. The number of graduate students enrolled in Sociology in this country continues at the high level of recent years. Reports were received from 68 of the 104 departments which offer graduate training. As the following tabulation indicates, these 68 institutions reported an enrollment of 1858 students this year compared to a total of 1835 by 77 departments in 1955. Allowing for the departments which failed to respond, it is estimated that there were approximately 2300 graduate sociology students in our institutions this past year.

GRADUATE ENROLLMENT IN SOCIOLOGY

Size of Dept.	No. of Departments		
	1954	1955	1956
100 or more	3	3	3
80-99	4	1	1
60-79	2	3	4
40-59	6	6	8
20-39	15	21	11
1-19	47	43	41
Total	77	77	68

Size of Dept.	Enrollment		
	1954	1955	1956
100 or more	400	378	384
80-99	366	81	90
60-79	126	216	253
40-59	295	286	404
20-39	434	577	351
1-19	389	297	376
Total	2,010	1,835	1,858

There was a high concentration of this enrollment, as would be expected. Sixteen departments accounted for 61 percent of the total reported. Only four departments had an enrollment of ninety or more graduate students, while 43 departments accounted for 20 percent of the total.

The distribution between students for the master's and the doctor's degrees is instructive in the light of prospective market opportunities for persons trained in sociology. Of the 68 reporting departments, 43 or 63 percent listed students for the doctorate. Only two of these departments reported no master's degree candidates. Of the total number of students currently pursuing course work for the two degrees, 39 percent were working for the doctorate, and more than half of the doctoral students were concentrated in nine of the 43 departments.

3. Finally, and with more than formal courtesy, your Secretary wishes to record his obligation to the Society's Executive Officer and her staff. Comparison of the operations of this Society and other similar societies demonstrates the wide range and high quality of service rendered to our officers and members in the day to day business of the Execu-

tive Office. Our Society is fortunate in this effective instrumentality. To Miss Miriam Alpert and the office staff, the Secretary records his continuing admiration and appreciation of an outstanding job.

Respectfully submitted,

WELLMAN J. WARNER
Secretary

REPORT OF EXECUTIVE OFFICER

AUGUST 1956

The year 1956 marks another step in the steadily increasing activity of the Society. Since the Executive Officer's report follows no standard format, but rather sets forth for the membership some selected aspects of the Society's operations, this report will deal with two lines of activity which reflect this growth of the Society. It will deal, first, with the present stage of the Society's publication program; and second, with the work of the Executive Office, particularly with the relatively routine parts of this work.

The Society has issued several different publications this year, of varied size and importance.

First, the *American Sociological Review* has included a total of 896 pages, as compared with 880 in 1955 and 800 in 1953. Despite predictable future increases in the costs of printing, it is hoped that this size may be maintained without any immediate recourse to an increase in dues.

Second, the newly acquired quarterly journal *Sociometry* is now well underway. When Dr. Moreno turned *Sociometry* over to the Society a year ago, there were slightly over 500 subscribers. There are now about 1,300 subscribers—sufficient to put the publication onto a self-supporting basis in its first year under the Society's aegis. To be sure, considerable promotional effort has been required. Thousands of letters and brochures have been sent to a wide variety of potential subscribers. As a result, nearly all of the original 500 have been retained. An additional 500 have been recruited from among the members of the Society. Another 100 have been secured from members of related societies such as the American Psychological Association, the American Anthropological Association, and the American Association for Public Opinion Research. And 200 more library and individual subscribers, obtained from miscellaneous lists, bring the present total to 1,300.

Third, the *Index* to the *Review* has been revised by the Editor so as to cover 20 years. This 232-page volume is on display at the Society desk here. So far, about 1600 copies have

been sold, and it is expected that at least another 1,000 will be sold because of the indispensable character of this index as a research tool.

Fourth, the 1956 edition of the *Directory of Members* is in press and will be available in October. This contains some 4,800 names. As usual, it lists the members alphabetically and again by geographical location. This is the third edition of what has become a tri-ennial publication. The suggestion has been made that future editions might be made still more valuable to the profession if somewhat more information were provided about each member. According to Council mandate, this *Directory* is sold to members at the nominal charge of \$1.00 with the bulk of the cost paid for out of Society reserves. So far, about 1,350 advance copies have been sold.

Fifth, two of the series of Russell Sage Foundation bulletins have appeared this year, one on Sociology and Corrections, and one on Sociology and Mental Health. This series has met with considerable applause, and well over 1,000 copies of each Bulletin have been sold through the Society. A third Bulletin, on Sociology and Medicine, is scheduled for publication this fall. This series, which clearly meets an important need, has the peculiar advantage of being largely financed not by the Society, but by the Foundation. Negotiations are now in progress for the preparation of further bulletins in the near future.

Sixth, the *Employment Bulletin*, issued six times a year, appears to have become an established channel for the placing of sociologists in academic, governmental, and industrial positions. About 100 vacancies have been listed, as contrasted with less than 60 three years ago. And the number of replies forwarded has about tripled during this period. While the effectiveness of such a service can never be accurately determined, evidence points directly to a good many resultant placements. Moreover, there is an undoubted, though unmeasurable, public relations effect in the announcement of the professional activities of sociologists to deans and to potential employers outside of our field.

The seventh and eighth publications of the Society are the mimeographed listing of current research projects and the abstracts of annual meeting papers. The research listing, made up of 63 pages, is annually made available to national and regional societies for their use in program planning, and over 500 copies are sold. The abstracts consist this year of 230 papers, 120 pages, and are distributed free to registrants at these meetings. Additional copies may be purchased for one dollar each.

In the ninth place, the society does not publish, but distributes in the United States, the UNESCO Journal, *Current Sociology*.

These nine publications will cost the Society about two-thirds of its estimated total budget for 1956. They will cost, that is, about \$57,000 out of a total expenditure of \$83,000. Over against this, they produce an income of some \$33,000 through subscriptions, sales and advertising. That is, these publications are expected to produce in 1956 about 40 percent of the Society's income—nearly as much as the 46 percent brought in through dues payments.

We might also list as a tenth publication the annual meeting program, which appears in two editions, requires many months of preparation not only by the Program Chairmen and participants, but also by the Executive Office, and supports through its advertising a major portion of its own cost to the Society.

If we look back to 1949, before the reorganization of the Society, only two of these ten were issued as separate publications—the *Review* and the Annual Meeting Program—with two others, the list of current research projects and an address list of the members, included annually in the *Review*. Yet this expansion in the Society's publication program, though outstanding, is by no means atypical. Parallel expansion has gone on in all the activities of the Society. This is reflected in the constantly mounting volume of work and variety of detail which is carried by the staff of the Executive Office.

Miriam Alpert, under whose competent management the Office has achieved great efficiency, divides the more routine portions of the staff work under six main headings. These staff activities are quite distinct from the special fiscal and administrative activities of the Executive Officer in preparing financial reports, meeting with the Society's Committees, assisting the President in the preparation of agenda, and the like. Yet it is these routine staff activities which best index the growth in Society activities.

1. *Publications.* For all of the Society's publications, the Office takes care of bookkeeping, maintenance of records, billing, promotion, answering of questions and complaints, and the like. Beyond this, the Office actually prepares five of the ten publications: the *Employment Bulletin*, Research listing, Abstracts, *Directory*, and Program.

2. *Membership.* The Office maintains the file of about 4,800 current members, recording payments, conducting campaigns for new members, recording reclassifications of members as they advance in the profession (e.g. 201 were reclassified in 1955), writing to them if they

resign (55 resigned formally last year), and so on. Unfortunately, the matter of collecting dues is a costly one—only about half the members pay the first time they are billed, 1,300 require three bills, and a fourth bill must be sent to nearly 1,000 persons. Each year, a few hundred of these laggards are dropped entirely, though repeated follow-ups in subsequent years produce re-instatements—e.g. 224 dropped members were reinstated in 1955. Beyond this, the Office prepares and sends six regular mailings to all current members each year.

3. *Maintenance of the mailing lists of both members and subscribers.* During the course of the year, about 500 names must be removed because of death, resignation, or non-payment, another 700 new names must be added, and some 1,400 address changes must be made.

4. *Promotion of advertising.* A file of 250 publishers is maintained, notified regularly of publication and annual meeting plans. Each time a book is reviewed in the *American Sociological Review*, for example, its publisher is notified in advance and asked to run a tie-in advertisement.

5. *Annual Meeting.* In addition to its work on the Program, the Office works closely with the Local Arrangements Committees in the plans for special functions, housing, and room assignments, and so on, at the forthcoming annual meetings.

6. *Committees.* The Office maintains files and provides services to the Society's Council, Executive Committee, and its fifteen other Committees. This activity may perhaps be suggested by comparison with that of another learned society of similar size, which leaves largely to its President the task of inviting its Committee members to serve and of guiding their activities. Contrast this with the regular procedure of the American Sociological Society. First, the Office provides the Committee on Committees with an extensive record of committee incumbents for the past several years, indicating the vacancies which are to be filled. Second, the office, following the instructions of the Committee on Committees, polls the Council for recommendations. Third, once the Committee members have been selected, the Office writes letters to each of them at the request of the President. And finally, at the end of the year, each Committee member is again written to at the President's request.

Such detailed tasks—involving the servicing of committees, communications to the members, recording of cash receipts, and so on, and so on—may perhaps each be unimportant in itself. But it is hoped that the total of such tasks

contributes to the growing strength and professionalization of the Society.

Respectfully submitted,
MATILDA WHITE RILEY
Executive Officer

REPORT OF THE EDITOR OF THE *AMERICAN SOCIOLOGICAL REVIEW*

During the period June 1955 to May 1956 779 pages of editorial matter were published. Of this total 460 pages (59 per cent) were of articles, 207 pages (27 per cent) were book reviews and book notes, 61 pages (8 per cent) were official reports and news, and the remainder (51 pages or 6 per cent) were miscellaneous.

In the indicated period 288 papers were received and 72 published. As was the case for the two years preceding, about one article was published for every four received. The average time between the receipt of an article and final action upon it was approximately seven weeks. We think this is a commendable record, and it has been possible only because the Associate Editors remained diligent and assiduous beyond any reasonable expectation. Once again their constructively critical work led to the successful revision of a number of papers that might otherwise have proved unavailable for publication.

The average interval between the acceptance of a paper and its publication was approximately five months, with a range of three to nine months. Inasmuch as our deadline is about three months before publication date, this is a reasonably satisfactory record. The Boyd Printing Company and Mr. Henry Quellmalz were co-operative in every way and adhered faithfully to our printing schedule.

The publication of 190 reviews and 91 book notes (207 pages in all) represents a substantial increase in this department. It is no small task to select from the mass of publications received that part to be reviewed. Every effort was made to enlist the talents of a large and representative corps of critics. This, we believe, was achieved, for 161 reviewers are represented in the 190 reviews published. Richard T. Morris, the Book Review Editor, efficiently and with discrimination discharged the manifold responsibilities of his office.

As mentioned above, official reports and news used 61 pages, or 8 per cent of the total editorial matter. The Editor renews his recommendation to the Society that these functions be discharged by the establishing of a new

journal devoted to items of professional in distinction to scientific importance. Only a few articles of primarily professional interest were accepted by the *Review*. Because they can have only secondary claims on *Review* space, it was necessary to reject a number of articles, which should have been printed by a professional journal.

Respectfully submitted,
LEONARD BROOM
Editor

REPORT OF THE EDITOR OF *SOCIOMETRY*

Through the generosity of Dr. J. L. Moreno, founder of *Sociometry*, that magazine became the property of the American Sociological Society January 1, 1956. In acquiring this publication the Society has sought to make it a channel of scientific communication for the broad field of research in social psychology. The assumption that there is a need for such a facility is now in the process of being tested. Thus far (as of July 31, 1956) the signs would indicate that the assumption will prove to be correct. Subscriptions have reached a total of 1,289. The number of contributed manuscripts has totaled 131.

One of the major problems in publishing such a journal is, on the one hand, correctly to reflect the interests and state of development of the field and at the same time to achieve and maintain an appropriate standard of quality. We have been fortunate indeed in securing as associate editors and editorial consultants a group of 32 highly competent and rigorously critical scientists who have given the manuscripts submitted to us sympathetic but searching examination. Their comments have been incisive and constructive. In consequence only 21 of the total of 131 manuscripts submitted have been accepted and a considerable number of those only after substantial revisions have been made. A total of 91 manuscripts have been rejected and the remaining 19 are in process of appraisal or revision. It is worth noting here that many of the contributors have written to the editor indicating their appreciation for the criticisms and suggestions which have been made by the editors even when the papers have been rejected.

As may be inferred from the figures cited above, *Sociometry* does not as yet enjoy a backlog of accepted manuscripts. Indeed, as may be judged from the size of the issues published thus far, we have had space in each issue for one or two articles in addition to those published. This paucity exists notwithstanding

the fact that several hundred letters have gone out to scientists working in social psychology and related fields inviting them to submit manuscripts. It was anticipated, of course, that the year of transition to a new management and new policy would be a relatively lean period for the journal. However, we are confident that in another twelve months our condition will be much improved.

Since there is some evidence that certain misapprehensions exist in some quarters as to the scope and interest of *Sociometry*, I wish to quote here our policy statement which appears at the beginning of each issue.

"*Sociometry* is concerned with the entire range of interests and problems represented by research in social psychology. It is the policy of the editors to seek those manuscripts for publication which represent the significant research interests of investigators who are concerned with giving the field of social psychology theoretical structure and reporting research which is clearly focused, well designed, and competently conducted.

"While social psychology is presently regarded by most as a field with indeterminate boundaries, it has as its central focus the investigation of the processes and products of social interaction at the interpersonal, intrapersonal, intergroup and intra-group levels and the development of significant generalizations therefrom. In keeping with the more general meaning of the name of the journal emphasis will be placed on measurement of social behavior. However, this emphasis does not exclude the acceptability of good articles which must rely upon qualitative materials and analyses.

"The editors and editorial consultants can be expected to subject manuscripts to rigorous criticism and screening according to the best standards of scientific research and at the same time avoid a sterile orthodoxy which would stultify the communication of creative ideas at the growing edge of the science. Thus the journal will strive to be flexible in its response to the publication needs of its contributors.

"It is the intention of the editors to avoid any tendency toward professional provincialism and to invite contributions from any sector of the scientific community which promise to further the objectives of the journal."

Let me clarify for those who have gained the impression that only articles which demonstrate sophistication in mathematics and statistics will be considered, that while in keeping with the general meaning of the name of the journal we do emphasize the measurement of social behavior, we are eager to receive contributions devoted to theoretical formulations and to analyses which must depend upon qualitative materials and procedures. I cannot urge too strongly the submission of contributions which are concerned with theoretical formulations, with fresh orientations and approaches to per-

sistent problems, with qualitative analyses of phenomena not yet subject to quantitative treatment. In this connection I wish to caution my colleagues in social psychology that while our discipline is now quite properly emphasizing rigorous design and use of quantitative technology, we must also put heavy emphasis on fundamental thinking and theorizing about the phenomena in our field. It is quite clear that unless we do this we shall make the same mistakes some of our sister disciplines have made of developing elegance and virtuosity in method and technique and of losing sight of the truly important problems they started out to study in the first place. This comment carries not the slightest tinge of derogation of the importance of rigorous technology. This we must strive for. But I hope this emphasis will be coupled with long and searching thought that is directed to structuring truly significant problems to which our technology is to be applied. More manuscripts of this character will be welcomed indeed.

In concluding this report let me express my profound gratitude to all those who have contributed manuscripts for our consideration; to the associate editors and editorial consultants who have done such a splendid job of reviewing these manuscripts; and to the Managing Editor and Executive Officer for so ably conducting our business affairs. Let me in addition remind the entire membership that this is your enterprise and it is your responsibility not only to submit articles of good quality for our consideration but to give the editors the benefit of your advice and suggestion on any aspect of the work of the journal.

Respectfully submitted,

LEONARD S. COTTRELL, JR.
Editor

REPORT ON THE BULLETIN SERIES ON APPLIED SOCIOLOGY

In 1954 the American Sociological Society and Russell Sage Foundation authorized the preparation of three bulletins which would be designed to indicate the current status of the application of sociology in three fields of professional practice. The fields selected by the committee were

Sociology and the Field of Corrections by Lloyd Ohlin,
Sociology and the Field of Mental Health by John A. Clausen,
Sociology and the Practice of Medicine by Albert F. Wessen.

The first two of these bulletins have been published. The Ohlin bulletin was published

January 26, 1956 and as of June 30 of that year about 1800 copies had been sold. The Clausen bulletin was published April 9, 1956 and as of June 30 of that year a total of about 1600 had been sold. Orders for both of these bulletins continue to come in.*

The reaction to these publications has been most gratifying. Many readers, both sociologists and professional practitioners, have found them helpful and stimulating.

The bulletin on medicine has been delayed by a change in jobs on the part of the author. It is still in rough draft. Dr. Wessen, however, reports that he will submit it to the committee sometime this summer.

The success of the bulletins has led the Secretary and the Executive Officer of the Society to discuss informally with the Foundation the possibility of planning further works of the same kind on additional fields of application. It is anticipated that decisions on such a possible extension will be reached this fall.

Respectfully submitted,

LEONARD S. COTTRELL, JR.
Editor

REPORT OF THE 1956 PUBLICATIONS COMMITTEE

1. The major item of business presented to the Committee at the 1955 meeting in Washington was the probable need, at an early date, of some kind of house organ publication. Accordingly, the Committee accepted the responsibility for an investigation of the sentiments of the membership, of the nature and functions of such a publication, and of the costs entailed, looking forward to an early recommendation to the Budget Committee and the Council as to next steps.

In order to implement such a plan, Leonard Broom, Leonard Cottrell, Otis Duncan, and Wellman Warner were designated to consult on the nature and functions of a house organ and to report back to the Committee. The Executive Office was asked to investigate costs, to consult with Calvin Schmid and other members of the Committee, and to report back to the Committee.

It was contemplated that, ultimately, a questionnaire might be sent to the members of the Society asking whether they would welcome

* These bulletins are available through the American Sociological Society or the Russell Sage Foundation at fifty cents a copy. Members of the Society may get them at forty cents a copy by ordering through the Executive Office of the Society.

such a publication if it were paid for out of (a possible addition to) dues.

The Subcommittee reported back to the Publications Committee that "It is the judgment of the Subcommittee that (1) there is need for such a publication, and (2) that it is appropriate to bring it before the Society for decision at this time." Such a house organ would be published five times a year to report matters of professional interest to sociologists. The Executive Office urged that, since this publication would constitute a long-term commitment to be financed out of dues, it should be weighed carefully in relation to the Society's overall budgetary needs.

At its meeting on September 7, 1956, in Detroit, the Committee discussed the Subcommittee's report, but decided to withhold the decision about a house organ at this time since this would require an increase of some \$2 in the dues. It was, however, the sense of the meeting that such a publication would have great value and is ultimately inevitable. The Committee recommended this as a major item to be considered by the new Committee planned by the President-Elect which will review the overall present and future situation of the Society.

2. The Population Association of America, in exploring the feasibility of publishing a journal on demography, approached the Publications Committee with the question whether the American Sociological Society was interested in or contemplating such a publication. Although the Society has discussed possible later additions of specialized journals and one on demography has been suggested, no serious consideration has yet been given to the matter. A request for more definite information from the Population Association, with particular reference to the present status of their discussions and possible plans, elicited the information that they are still investigating the matter, especially the probable supply of articles and the probable cost of such a journal. The Population Association will carry their information to their membership in the fall and ask for their reactions. The Association will then report back to the American Sociological Society.

3. The question of a monograph series, as proposed by the Eastern Sociological Society, was deferred.

4. The proposal made by the Committee on Social Statistics that authors be instructed to type their own tables for reproduction in the *Review* was rejected on the grounds of appearance and of the added burden placed upon authors. The Executive Office was, however, instructed to investigate the possibility of using

a typing or varityping house for the central preparation of all difficult materials for reproduction in the Society's publications. This investigation indicated that such preparation would ordinarily result in little saving. What might be regarded a corollary, was a suggestion regarding form, namely, that a standard bibliographical form for journal articles be worked out and adopted by some or all of the social sciences. It was suggested that the Council of the Society take the initiative in approaching other societies on this matter and, if the idea is favorably received, cooperate in setting up such a standard.

5. A series of recommendations was made to the Council in regard to the Editorial Board of *Sociometry*, as recorded in the above Minutes of the 1956 Council.

Respectfully submitted,

KATHARINE JOCHER,
Chairman for 1956

REPORT OF THE 1957 PUBLICATIONS COMMITTEE

At a meeting held in Detroit, September 7, 1956, the following further actions were taken:

1. A slate of Associate Editors for *Sociometry* was recommended to the Committee on Committees, as recorded in the above Minutes of the 1957 Council.

2. The Committee suggested to the 1957 Council that the present Editor be urged to hold office through 1958. One of the important considerations here is that the terms of both Editors, of the *Review* and of *Sociometry*, will otherwise expire simultaneously.

3. The Committee voted to recommend to the Council that the Russell Sage Foundation be asked for further funds to support the continuation of the Bulletin series.

4. The Committee voted to recommend to the Editor of the *Review* that a special issue be set aside in February 1958 to include the papers prepared by chairmen of the 1957 annual meetings. It is the sense of this recommendation that there is no obligation to accept any papers which do not meet the standards of the *Review*. Additional editors may be added for this special issue if necessary.

5. It was agreed that a Sub-Committee of three (consisting of Leonard Cottrell, John Clausen and Matilda Riley) should inquire fully into the details of the proposed volume of readings on social sciences and public health as reported by the Society's representative to the Joint Committee on Public Health and the Behavioral Sciences. This Sub-Committee should report details and problems, together with recommendations, to the Publications Committee, who should then refer this matter to the Executive Committee.

6. It was agreed to express to the Committee on Marriage and Divorce Statistics a strong and posi-

tive interest in encouraging them to prepare an article as proposed for consideration by the Editor of the *Review* in line with his usual standards, or for publication in some other form which might prove feasible without financial commitment by the Society.

7. In order to facilitate the orderly transfer of the *Review* at the close of the present Editor's term (with the December 1957 issue), the Council was asked that the new Editor be selected not later than July 1, 1957.

8. The non-member subscription rate to the *Review* is to be increased to \$8 starting with the 1957 volume.

9. The Executive Office was requested to study the *Review* advertising rates with a view to increasing them.

Respectfully submitted,

LEONARD S. COTTRELL,
Chairman for 1957

REPORT OF THE MEMBERSHIP COMMITTEE

It is a pleasure to be able to report that the membership of The American Sociological Society has continued to grow over the past year and is now approaching 5,000. The total number of members on July 1, 1956 was 4,682, as compared with 4,454 a year earlier. If this rate of increase is sustained, our total membership should go above 5,000 within the next two years. This number should be a minimal goal for the Committee.

Active Membership, as a category, gained more than did *Associate* or *Student Membership*. The increase in active membership was greater this year than in any of the preceding five years, the gain of 143 members doubtless reflecting increased employment of full-time professional sociologists in teaching and research.

Ninety additional members in the associate category represent a gain approximating that in the preceding year when 85 were added to the same date. Since July, 1951 the number of associate members has increased 46 per cent as compared with increases of 12 per cent in active membership and 3 per cent in student membership.

It is evident that increases in the student membership are difficult to attain in a period when graduate enrollments have generally been declining from their post-World War II peak. The number of student members was five less on July 1, 1956 than it was a year earlier. Gains in student membership are dependent heavily on the co-operation of Department Chairmen in supplying lists of names and addresses of graduate students. While the number

of Chairmen who supplied such lists was approximately the same as last year, many of the lists were received too late to be used most effectively. Knowing how busy Department Chairmen are early in the school year, it is understandable that many of them were unable to furnish lists promptly. Additional attention should be given to the timing of these requests to make certain that they arrive when the information can be most readily supplied. Invitations mailed by the Executive Office of this Society to students listed by Department Chairmen resulted in 128 student memberships drawn from 825 who were invited to join.

Since the services provided by this Society to its members are financed mainly through membership dues, it is evident that all of us are indebted to the members of this Committee who have generously devoted time and effort, year after year, to recruitment in their local areas. As Chairman of the Committee, I wish to extend my thanks to them for their splendid co-operation. The Committee desires to commend Miriam Alpert, Matilda Riley, and Wellman Warner for the diligence and effectiveness of the aid provided the Committee through the Executive Office of the Society.

Respectfully submitted,

RAYMOND F. SLETTO
Chairman

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON TRAINING AND PROFESSIONAL STANDARDS

On February 3rd, I sent the attached memorandum to members of the committee. The answers, which were not numerous, included the following paragraphs containing suggestions:

1. With respect to standards of research training, I think we might very well direct our attention not only to the graduate level but also to the undergraduate. It seems to me that undergraduates of a superior caliber might very easily be introduced to the processes of sociological research, under the supervision of a professor who is himself doing research, and that they could profit from an opportunity of this kind even though it involved them in only a preliminary and apprentice capacity.

I agree with you also that the development of an abstract code of ethics would be an empty exercise. Nevertheless, as specific cases arise it might not be amiss for us to examine them and possibly to arrive at a policy by induction. We might possibly, for example, want to examine the issues involved in the Jury Research, a problem with which you of course are much more familiar than I.

2. I think the outline of points made by you in your recent letter is excellent. There is only one additional idea that comes to mind. Would it be possible to have a committee such as ours on pro-

professional standards, be assigned the job of selecting say 10 or a dozen articles each year which most closely approximate the professional standards of research as viewed by the different members of this committee and then to publish this list in the *Review*. This is a more general approach than that now used for the MacIver award. I think it would be undiplomatic to publish the list of the 10 worst articles published in our professional journals. But in a way it would be an honor to be selected among the 10 or dozen selected by the committee as best. If I think of additional ideas, I will write you.

None of these suggestions has been followed out. Lloyd Ohlin has prepared for possible future discussion of the problems raised in reporting some research on correctional institutions. There is a problem of identifying people unwittingly; or rather a problem of keeping anonymity. Another case which might be prepared for use has to do with the researcher pretending to be a convert in order to get access to closed meetings. This makes one ask the general question: With whom may the bargain to study people's behavior be properly made? Is it proper for A to give B permission to study C, without C's knowledge? Now that people have been alerted, I think it would be possible to prepare several cases of this kind for discussion during the coming year in the *Review* or some other periodical or for presentation at next year's meeting.

On the problems of standards of excellence of research training and reporting, we have the two suggestions that more attention be paid to research training of undergraduates and that there be some rewarding attention drawn to especially good reports of research.

The Social Science Research Council has again planned and supported a number of post-doctoral research training seminars this summer. The reports concerning them will come directly from the Council in good time. These continue to be a significant development. The one on research into the social aspects of health (which is the only one I saw close at hand) very successfully exploited people of a number of disciplines and set a high standard of work for its participants.

Respectfully submitted,
EVERETT C. HUGHES,
Chairman

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON RESEARCH

ABSTRACT

The sole project adopted by the 1955-1956 Research Committee, through the offices of its Chairman, was the defining of its function(s). Spirited,

detailed and thought-provoking suggestions were furnished the Chairman by the other ten committee members. Further advice was sought and obtained from fifty-three other sociologists, a representative group from the standpoints of age as sociologists, diversity of interests, and, except for a slight bias favoring the Southeast, geography. The following functions, in order of popularity, were outlined: (1) to help raise standards of research by devising criteria of quality (which should then be submitted to the Society for its consideration); (2) to sponsor annual reports on research in various sociological specialisms; (3) to encourage the publication of the research history of these specialisms; (4) to sponsor "watchdog" activity on declining sociological emphases, with an eye to exploiting to the fullest our research past; (5) to study ways of effecting profitable feedback of sociological research, by way of translating findings into layman's language and interpreting their applicability; (6) to prepare a comprehensive bulletin—and keep it up to date—on research funds and fellowships available to qualified researchers; (7) to advise in the preparation of, but not to prepare, the Census of Research; (8) to sponsor an annual prize for the best piece of sociological research and participate actively in the selection of the winner; and (9) to encourage research on sociology—its status as a profession, the perspective in which it is viewed by non-sociologists, its ideologies, and, in general, where it appears to be headed.

Peripheral functions for the Committee or, at least, its Chairman, were deemed to be: (1) to suggest to publishers research topics or areas which need developing, so that the publishers, in turn, can encourage such activity through publication promises; (2) to effect an advising relationship to the editors of *Psychological Abstracts* aimed at having the true nature of sociological pieces appearing therein more accurately reflected by the headings and language used and the classificatory scheme employed; (3) to help strengthen, especially financially, the several extant sociological journals, so that they may better serve the profession by providing more adequate publication space for research reporting; and (4) to study the graduate student admission pictures in departments of sociology throughout the country, with an eye to learning whether or not we are getting our share of talented undergraduates, and, if not what we shall have to do to reach them.

A realistic beginning for the ambitious undertaking prescribed above was adjudged to consist of the compilation of an Annual Report on Selected Research. Such a document would be developed chiefly through the efforts of the members of the Research Committee, would be limited in coverage to projects in some well-defined universe of output (e.g., *Sociological Abstracts*), would, ideally, be of journal article size, and would have as its content carefully considered judgments of what the research being done consists of in terms of methodology and theoretical framework employed, as well as a critical appraisal of the over-all quality of the job. It was generally agreed that likely such an initial project

would prove to be sufficient impetus for further appraisal and encouragement of research.

There was strong sentiment (which doubtless would have been universally expressed if the Chairman had succeeded in keeping his lines of communication open and busy) that the editor of Sociological Abstracts is doing a splendid job and merits the praise and congratulations of all users of sociological literature.

A revision of the Constitution was suggested wherein continuity would be given the Research Committee through having its members appointed for three-year terms, and better leadership would be provided through having its Chairman appointed from among those members with more than one year remaining in their terms.

The major task of the Committee on Research of the American Sociological Society for 1955-1956—if not the sole one—has been that of defining its functions. The cue that this needed to be a major focus came early: the meeting of the Committee at the Annual Meetings in Washington, from which the Chairman and more than half the members were absent, brought forth memoranda to the Secretary of the Society suggesting that we first establish the nature of our job. An early Fall request by the Chairman that Committee members define their collective job met with prompt and detailed responses, which were used by the Chairman as the basis for research among selected Society members on the general topic of the Research Committee's *raison d'être*. The following is the Chairman's interpretation of the data he has obtained from Committee members and fifty-three other sociologists, through correspondence and interviews, on the functions of the Research Committee. The topics are presented below in order of appropriateness as a function and urgency of expedition, as measured by frequency of occurrence and seeming intensity of feeling involved.

1. To raise standards of research

The dominant sentiment was that the Research Committee should not attempt to do research on its own, but should be an appraiser of research, a body to set standards and, at least in some measure, to see to it that such standards are maintained. It is not a function of such a committee simply to encourage research; rather, its job is to discourage research unless it is good research. Many respondents referred to the unproductive kinds of research currently being engaged in, and to the numerous abuses and perversions of the scientific method stemming from subscription in some quarters to "research for the sake of research."

Tentative standards for research could be devised by the Research Committee and presented to the Society for discussion and imple-

mentation. All this is consistent with the thinking of many that, since there are practically no requirements for membership in the Society, a situation conducive to low standards of all sorts, something can be done in the research area that would add substantially to its professional stature.

2. To sponsor annual reports on research in various sociological specialisms

Here the Research Committee would not be a working committee but an advisory one. Such an annual report could take the form of a volume setting forth research developments in many or all specialisms, or, if this turned out to be too formidable a task in terms of diversification of focus, one-third, say, of the areas could be covered each year. This would mean, of course, that a three-year coverage of each specialism would appear at three-year intervals.

Since the compilation of such a report would amount to a substantial gift of time by the people chosen for the task, unless remuneration could be provided (a suggestion of many consulted on this topic), such a working committee would be of only one year duration. The relation of the Research Committee to such an Evaluation Committee would be as follows: The Research Committee would choose the areas to be covered in a given year (if not all are covered each year) and would appoint members of the Evaluation Committee on the basis of their qualifications in the areas chosen. No member of the Evaluation Committee would work in more than one area. The Research Committee would appoint area chairmen. An alternative proposal would be that the Research Committee appoint only area chairmen who, in turn, would choose their helpers. This procedure, however, might lead to annoying problems in communication and competition among chairmen for assistants.

Several suggested that such a job can be done best by rotating it among the major departments of sociology throughout the country. Since it promises to be a gratis job at best and since communication problems invariably arise in work of this kind, the staff of a diversified department during a given year would be a logical choice as an Evaluation Committee.

Such a report should be designed primarily for working sociologists rather than laymen or professionals in other fields. The description of such a report, given by one member of the Research Committee and heartily endorsed by many other Society members consulted by the Chairman, is as follows: It should provide an efficient vehicle for workers in a given area of specialization to learn what others in their area are doing, how their researches relate to those of

others, and how their area relates to adjacent areas (e.g., industrialization and urbanization). This would help prevent "occupational deformity due to over-specialization."

As suggested by a member of the Research Committee and endorsed by others, outstanding researches would be described in considerable detail. His outline for such descriptions included the following items:

- (1) A firm statement as to research background of the study
- (2) A clear statement of the hypotheses being tested
- (3) Nature of the methodology involved
 - (a) new approaches, insights, etc.
 - (b) new techniques, instruments, etc.
- (3) Financial background of the project
- (4) Publications to date and planned
- (5) Research difficulties encountered (e.g., in organization of research team, publication concessions, etc.)
- (6) Research personnel qualifications
- (7) Contributions to theory, method, technique
- (8) Contribution to graduate training program

A major function of the Evaluation Committee would be that of tying the researches in each specialism in with broad sociological theory and analysis. Such an effort would tend to inhibit what one Committee member chose to call "ethnographic particularism." "The problem," he wrote, "is how to encourage people working in industrial sociology, or race relations, to remember that they are above all sociologists since their work is based upon more general sociological principles; they also have a reciprocal obligation so to organize their research that its relevance for broader hypotheses and theories is made manifest."

3. To encourage the publication of the research history of various sociological specialisms

Some sociologists, slaves to the realization that their discipline is relatively new and rapidly changing, are inclined to shy away from serious consideration of any researches more than five, or, at the most, ten years old. This habit, aptly labeled sociological "barbarism" by one member of the Research Committee, leads one into that dangerous unawareness of "the continuing research utility of earlier studies and theories."

Such reporting might be handled by the *American Sociological Review* and thus not necessitate a separate publication. It would call for the appointment of a special "working" committee, which might be appropriately called the Research Compilation Committee, whose job would be that of reviewing the literature in the various areas over the appropriate period of time and compiling corresponding annotated

bibliographies. The role of the Research Committee in this activity would be that of appointing, or advising in the appointment of, such a Compilation Committee, and of working closely with the *American Sociological Review* in plans for publication of the Committee's work.

Obviously this is a one-shot job which, once completed, would be kept up-to-date by the Evaluation Committee described above.

4. To sponsor "watchdog" activity on declining sociological emphases

Since the sociologist appears to possess his share of interest in the new and spectacular, there was considerable concern on the part of several of the sociologists interviewed that many once well established substantive areas or well subscribed to methods are currently being permitted to decline unduly or even die. With an eye to reviewing the old and of exploiting to the fullest its potential, it is suggested that the Research Committee sponsor such an activity by assigning to someone the task of searching out and identifying declining areas and methods.

Here again the Research Committee is to serve in a sponsoring and consulting capacity to those individuals or groups assigned the above task. Financial grants for such an effort need to be sought and there was considerable belief that foundations likely would be interested in sponsoring it. Specifically, the Research Committee could (1) find funds for such an undertaking; (2) assist in the selection of working personnel; and (3) serve as critics of the product.

5. To sponsor feedback of sociological research

This is taken to mean (1) translation of research findings and methods into layman's language; and (2) interpretation of such findings to situations in the workaday world.

The dominant orientation here was that feedback needs to be "institutionalized," that it needs to be done systematically, in such a fashion as to cover all areas appropriately and to reach a wide public. This is not to be done, of course, at the expense of so-called pure research, nor are such translations to rob sociologists of their right to have a vocabulary of their own. In short, if sociologists are to be accepted by laymen, a part of the plan involves our being understood by them.

This job was thought to be too large for the Research Committee. Therefore, its function in this respect was defined as that of setting up a committee whose sole job would be that of selecting research pieces deserving translation and interpretation for laymen. The actual translation and interpretation, however, would be the task of the creator of the research piece.

Since such a task of ferreting out the most worthwhile research pieces for translation and interpretation is sure to be one of sizeable proportions, again the problem of financing such a project arises. Here the Research Committee is to function as a fund-raiser and committee-selector.

It was interesting to note that five sociologists who discussed this item with the Chairman of the Research Committee took the position that every researcher who bothers to write up his research for the use of sociologists has at the same time the moral obligation to re-write it for laymen consumption; to take care of the latter essays, they insisted, we need a sociological journal for laymen.

6. *To prepare a comprehensive bulletin on research funds and fellowships available to qualified research oriented members of the Society*

One member of the Research Committee labeled such a project a "bottomless pit," an activity we should shy away from on all counts. However, majority (albeit unenthusiastic) opinion held that this could be a legitimate and realistic undertaking of the Research Committee, and that if such a committee were carefully selected (i.e., if it were composed of members who deserved to be on it in terms of research sophistication) it would certainly have a real interest in such a task. Many held that the chief deterrent to research was a lack of information on research sponsorship, that, while research institutes throughout the country were doing at least a fair job of tracking down funds for their own members, there is not enough such institutes to reach all well qualified persons and that, consequently, help for the latter is a real need. In short, such a service is needed for people in small and less well developed departments and outside the main stream of research activity and emphasis.

Here, as indicated above, the Research Committee would play a working rather than an advising role; the size of such a job renders it manageable for such a body, unpaid and geographically scattered though it be. A realistic division of labor among its members was thought to be possible.

7. *To advise in the preparation of, but not to prepare, the Census of Research*

Practically everyone consulted insisted that the preparation of the Census of Research was not a Research Committee function per se, that it should be carried out by the Executive Officer of the Society. However, there was strong sentiment that the Research Committee could and should perform a yeoman service to the Executive Office of the Society by performing certain

peripheral tasks and by serving in the capacity of advisor and critic. Among the improvements suggested, in which the Research Committee should take a hand, were:

- (a) Devise a classificatory scheme for projects consisting of categories which are clear and understandable to all and as mutually exclusive as possible.
- (b) Devise a reporting form that will come nearer than the present one enabling, say, the Program Committee of the Society to pass judgment on the appropriateness of the project for a paper at the Annual Meetings.
- (c) Follow up on projects described in earlier Reports. There is substantial evidence that many research projects are reported in the Census of Research which at best are no further along than the initial idea stage of the reporter. It would be good to know the progress they are making from year to year. All this would tend to discourage what amounts in essence to highly unethical "padding" and, consequently, would trim down the size of the Census to the point where it would include only reports on bona fide projects which give promise of being carried through to completion and early publication. In short, the society, through such a procedure, would soon have an accurate life history of research projects and a good account of research productivity.
- (d) Provide opportunity for expression of latent research interests. Often at a given time one may not be actively engaged in research, due to lack of funds, a heavy teaching load, and the like, yet he may have rather extensive research plans and ambitions. Since he is not actually working at a research project at the time, he has nothing to report on the blanks sent him by the Census of Research. Might it not be well to provide such a person the opportunity to express his hopes? Then, once these hopes are known, ways of encouraging him might be found.

Furthermore, such a compilation of research interests, especially if such interests were made to take the form of specific research proposals, would help reflect the direction our discipline is taking, both substantively and in terms of research techniques.

All this would furnish data for still another project suggested by a member of the Research Committee—the projection of future goals of research. While this Committee member aptly insisted that this, at best, is sure to be a speculative and imaginative undertaking, he pointed to what all of us must agree is a need—to examine continually where we are headed researchwise.

- (e) Have the research questionnaire "sell" research at the same time it is serving as a "face saver" for those not actively engaged in it.

Obviously this complements item (d) above. In addition to inquiring into research being done, many have suggested that a par-

agraph or two in the questionnaire be devoted to building the prestige of research, to citing its importance, to lauding it as an expected part of the activity of the academic man. At the same time, blank spaces can be provided in which the inactive researcher can "blame" his lack of productivity on such activities as student counseling, administrative assignments, heavy teaching load, extensive work, or the like.

8. Award an annual prize for the best piece of sociological research

Forty-seven of the sixty-four participants in this survey expressed an opinion on this item; thirty-three of these forty-seven favored such a procedure. However, many in the minority segment had strong feelings against such a tactic for encouraging research. Their objections appeared to be related to the notion that it is too difficult to appraise fairly projects representing such diverse interests and emphases. At best, the judging team would have to be a large one, hence unmanageable. A few questioned the appropriateness of financial reward for an academic effort of this type.

One member of the Research Committee who favored such a prize suggested that it could be awarded for any one of the following: (1) best empirical dissertation; (2) best short paper reporting a single project; (3) best designed and executed research project; (4) the most useful innovation in research design or method.

The Research Committee, according to those favoring such an award, would be the logical judges of the project. Conceivably the feasibility of giving the Research Committee such an assignment would rest upon the number of contestants; if the interest is great and the consequent number of projects large, the Research Committee doubtless would need assistance, particularly at the early screening stage.

9. Sponsor research on sociology

One member of the Research Committee and eleven other sociologists consulted saw an urgent need for research on the present status of sociology—its organization as a discipline and profession, its ideology (or ideologies), how people are recruited for it, where it is going, the view taken of it by people in other disciplines, etc. Such a self-analysis was labeled by these people a necessity at this juncture, in a science as new and, as some put it, as "floundering" as sociology appears to be. On the subject of recruitment, for example, the statistically oriented sociologists in the group raised such questions as: what can be done by way of working with undergraduate departments of mathematics in an effort to recruit mathematics majors into graduate work in sociology? How can we hope

to entice into sociology students other than mathematical "dumbbells" in light of the current job market for those specializing in the physical sciences?

While it was felt, as expressed earlier, that the Research Committee should not engage in research per se, in this case such a committee could play a major role in encouraging such an activity and, since its members are supposed to be researchers themselves to qualify for membership, serve gratis as consultants to such a project.

In connection with this self-inventory suggestion, one member of the Research Committee proposed a Committee on Anti-Intellectualism, to serve as a body officially to voice objection to the current "persecution of research scholars." This, he insisted in a well-phrased and thought-provoking plea, might lead to research on the organization and structure of the American Sociological Society, with an eye to discovering how it might be made to function as a pressure group to oppose such anti-academic antics. In short, this member raised the question: Is it a function of the Society, or a representative committee of body thereof, dramatically and forcefully to express objections to the anti-intellectual behavior extant in some quarters? Or, better still, can we devise means to put teeth into our protestations?

10. Peripheral functions of Research Committee (or its Chairman)

Several functions suggested for the Research Committee appeared to fall outside the main stream of legitimate activity. They were:

- (a) To suggest to publishers (e.g., the Free Press) research topics which need to be developed, so that the publisher, in turn, can encourage such work by backing it up with attractive publication arrangements.
- (b) To effect an advising relationship to the editors of *Psychological Abstracts* which would result in having sociological topics handled there appear in a form which would reflect more accurately the true nature of the subject matter being treated. That is, are the classificatory scheme and the language used the best possible, in the interest of avoiding distortion?
- (c) To help strengthen the sociological journals in order to increase the publication space for research pieces. In this connection it was suggested that the Research Committee (or its Chairman) meet, say, annually (perhaps most appropriately at the Annual Meetings of the Society) with the editors of these publications, to discuss such pertinent topics as financing and ways of effecting better over-all cooperation between journal staff and contributor, especially in such matters as

promptness in writing reviews and in revising manuscripts.

- (d) To study the graduate student admission picture in departments of sociology throughout the country, with an eye to learning (a) how many were refused; (b) how many were accepted; (c) munificences involved in each admission; (d) other bases for final decisions of students admitted to more than one department; and (e) variations in admissions standards among departments.

Such a project would help answer questions regarding the actual number of students interested in doing graduate work in sociology, their qualifications for graduate study, and how attractive various departments of sociology are making themselves, financially and otherwise, to such aspirants. Proper anonymity would have to be guaranteed departments whose data were being sought, since such a study inevitably would reveal departmental differences in admission requirements, in ability to grant students financial assistance, in over-all drawing power, and in perhaps many other areas where attempts at preserving a certain degree of secrecy are continually made. All this is supposed to reflect recruitment needs and tactics, to answer such questions as: Does sociology get its share of good undergraduates? What undergraduate emphases conduce most to the desire to do graduate work in sociology? conduce least? What areas in sociology appear to be the "comers" in terms of student choice of departments (here the assumption is that different departments have their "pet" strengths)? Just how important are financial stipends as attractors of graduate students?

This suggestion came from a member of the Research Committee and was endorsed by only six others. Most of the remaining fifty-seven participants felt that the findings of such a study would not be of sufficient value to justify making it, especially in light of the danger of having departments identified despite Herculean effort to avoid it. However, the present Chairman of the Research Committee considers it a manageable and worthwhile project for one in his position, and recommends it as an appropriate task for the next Chairman.

11. A realistic assignment for next year

Since it was generally agreed that the functions of the Research Committee, both "main stream" and "peripheral," compose too imposing a list for tackling in full, it is herewith suggested that next year's activity consist principally of the following single activity: Publication of an Annual Report on Selected Research, sponsored and actively participated in by all members of the Research Committee. Such a report, as pro-

posed by one member of the Research Committee, would have the following characteristics:

- (a) limited in coverage to projects in some well-defined universe of output (e.g., *Sociological Abstracts*)
- (b) contentwise, to consist of (1) carefully considered judgments (not a mere statistical counting) of what the research being done represents in terms of theoretical framework and methodology employed, and (2) a critical appraisal of projects reported on.
- (c) of journal article size

The Research Committee would enjoy the right (and probably would need to exercise it) to summon assistants to help in this task, yet the task would constitute the Committee's primary assignment during the year. Such a publication obviously would not take the place of the Executive Office's Census of Research since it would be a critical appraisal of a clearly delineated batch of research pieces already published. For satisfactory results, it would appear that the Research Committee and its assistants would need to get together at relatively frequent intervals throughout the year. Many argued that this initial project surely would lead to something substantially more ambitious—a more detailed appraisal of the various areas of sociological research, in which effort the Research Committee would play a major role in (a) choosing areas for concentration in a given year; (b) determining the general directives for their coverage; and (c) assisting in choosing competent people for the tasks involved. When this stage is reached, likely the Research Committee will function more as a coordinating and advising body rather than a working one. But unstinting effort by the Research Committee to get such a project off the ground would doubtless be necessary. Publication of such a report, like the publication of its forerunner described above (i.e., the job for next year), would create a financing problem, suggestions for the handling of which were conspicuously absent.

In short, the expressions of the sixty-four sociologists relative to the job of the Research Committee of the Society appear to focus on answering the following questions:

- (1) How can such a body encourage good research in the future?
- (2) How can it best assist in appraising current and past research?
- (3) How can it be an efficiently functioning body with its membership so widely dispersed geographically?
- (4) If such scattering is to prevail, to what extent can the Committee function as a working committee and to what extent must it be primarily advisory?

- (5) How are the projects carried out or sponsored by such a Committee to be financed?

There was strong sentiment that the publication, *Sociological Abstracts*, is proving its worth and that its editor deserves heartiest compliments from all people interested in sociological literature.

A revision of the Constitution of the Society relative to length of term of members of the Research Committee and the President's appointive power was suggested. Some felt that since more continuity in Committee duration and activity seems advisable, members should be appointed for a term of three years, staggered at first. The President of the Society would appoint the Chairman from among the Committee members who have more than one year remaining to serve. The President would also appoint to the vacancies occurring during his term.

Respectfully submitted,
 FRANZ ADLER
 PAUL J. CAMPISI
 THEODORE CAPLOW
 OTIS DUDLEY DUNCAN
 ALVIN GOULDNER
 SOLON KIMBALL
 FRED L. STRODTBECK
 SAMUEL STRONG
 H. ASHLEY WEEKS
 ROBERT F. WINCH
 E. WILLIAM NOLAND, *Chairman*

REPORT OF THE CLASSIFICATION COMMITTEE

During the past year no problems of policy and no special cases have been referred to the Committee for its consideration. Nothing has arisen which seemed to necessitate the Committee's taking any initiative. However, we have at all times been prepared to go into action should occasion indicate that this would be called for.

Respectfully submitted,
 STUART QUEEN,
Chairman

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON RELATIONS WITH SOCIOLOGISTS IN OTHER COUNTRIES

As usual, the members of this Committee have worked individually and informally to further the relationships between sociologists at home and those abroad. The Chairman and some other members of the Committee are

representing the American Sociological Society at the Amsterdam meetings of the International Sociological Association.

Respectfully submitted,
 TALCOTT PARSONS
Chairman

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON SOCIAL STATISTICS

1. Owing to geographical separation the Committee has not held a meeting during the past year. The Chairman has been in correspondence with each of the members of the Committee and has received word from most of the members giving support to the following proposal.

2. *Explanation.* The preparatory work for the 1960 Census is now underway. Important decisions regarding the content and definitions applied in the census will be made within the next few months. Many of these decisions will affect the character of basic social data available to sociologists in the decade 1960-70. Among other significant questions that will be before the Census Bureau are:

(a) possible revision of the basic rural-urban classifications used in previous censuses.

(b) the nature and extent of information on internal migration and on commuting.

(c) definitions of the census "family" and household.

(d) the nature of census classification of occupations and of measures of socio-economic status.

(e) definitions and information to be collected on race, nativity, and parentage.

(f) whether or not there should be included a question on religious affiliation.

At least two of our sister organizations have committees on the 1960 Census. The Population Association has established a committee which hopes to study the technical issues intensively over the next few months. The Rural Sociological Society has sent a questionnaire to its members on census subjects bearing more directly on its scientific interests. While there is undoubtedly a considerable overlap of membership, the interest of many members of the Society might differ substantially from those of the two other organizations. Where they agree, the force of the recommendations to the Census Bureau might be strengthened by endorsement from several professional organizations.

The President of the Society has named the undersigned Chairman of the Social Statistics Committee to represent the Society in a Council of Population and Housing Census Users

organized by the Census Bureau to provide advice on policy issues in the preparation of the 1960 Census.

3. *Recommendations.* The Committee recommends that the Social Statistics Committee be authorized:

(a) to cooperate with corresponding committees in fellow professional organizations for coordinated recommendations concerning the 1960 Census.

(b) at its discretion to conduct a survey of the membership of the Society, or of a suitable sample or portion of the membership, so that members may record their wishes in relation to the content and definitions to be used in the 1960 Census.

(c) to digest and transmit the results of such an inquiry to the Bureau of the Census in the name of the Society.

4. If favorable action is taken on this proposal, the Committee at its meeting in Detroit will consider the merits of a formal survey, the possible content of the questionnaire, and the sample or portion of the Society to which it should be directed. Several members of the Committee, including the Chairman, feel that any questionnaire on this subject should be brief and ask for preferences on specific choices now before the Census Bureau of particular concern to members of the Society.

5. *Costs.* Members of the Committee are prepared to assume the clerical tasks involved in such a survey though of course the headquarters of the Society would be asked for assistance in providing membership lists. The maximum out-of-pocket costs to the Society would be for the postage and stationery involved.

Respectfully submitted,

DUDLEY KIRK
Chairman

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON MARRIAGE AND DIVORCE STATISTICS

1. No money was available for committee expenses, hence the only meetings held were in connection with the participation of members in other meetings. Four members met during the Public Health Conference on Records and Statistics in Washington, March 12-16, and five during the Society's meetings in Detroit, September 7 and 8. Other committee business was done by mail.

2. At the first meeting mentioned above it was agreed that the early establishment of a Marriage Registration Area (MRA) and the establishment of a Divorce and Annulment

Registration Area (DARA) as soon as possible thereafter should be supported strongly during the P.H.C.R.S. It was also agreed that similar support should be given to the inclusion on the basic records of the information most needed in studying marriage and divorce, including race, and occupation and industry, the omission of which has been proposed by some persons. This was the first P.H.C.R.S. at which the A.S.S. had an official representative (Kephart—a member of this committee).

3. In his report to President Blumer, Kephart stated that discussions at the P.H.C.R.S. indicated that the MRA would be started on January 1, 1957 with at least 20 states, and that the DARA might be launched no later than 1959. He was impressed by the receptivity which the state officials and others present at the working group meetings accorded the sociological point of view regarding the uses and potential value of marriage and divorce statistics.

4. Kephart presented six recommendations. Five of them are listed below, with the results of the mail ballot of Committee members.

(1) The Society should make every effort to maintain its working relationship with P.H.C.R.S. Approved unanimously.

(2) The Society should continue its Committee on Marriage and Divorce Statistics. Members should serve for two (or three) year terms on a staggered basis to provide continuity from year to year. Approved 7, abstained 1.

(3) Funds should be set aside for paying the expenses of members of the Committee for attendance at one (or more) committee meetings a year, provided that a majority of the members of the Committee believe that such a meeting is important from the standpoint of carrying out the Committee's assignment and that it needs to be held between the annual meetings of the Society. Approved 7, abstained 1.

(4) The Society's representation at the P.H.C.R.S. Working Group on Marriage and Divorce should be a function of its Committee on Marriage and Divorce Statistics. Its representative should be designated by and/or be a member of the Committee. Approved unanimously.

(6) The Society should consider providing space in the *Review* for one or more articles, or publishing a pamphlet, setting forth the issues involved in the establishment of a Marriage Registration Area and a Divorce Registration Area, and the sociological benefits to be derived from nationwide marriage and divorce statistics. Preparation of the article(s) or pamphlet might properly be a function of the Committee. Approved 7, abstained 1.

5. A recommendation that the committee should prepare a position paper, to be submitted to the A.S.S. for ratification, on the question whether a state should be admitted

to the MRA or DARA if it meets all requirements except that the item "race" is not on the basic record forms, was considered by mail and was adopted by a vote of yes, 5; no, 2; abstained 1.

6. A recommendation that, if the MRA or DARA is established in time, an effort should be made in the 1960 census to collect information which would be used to test the completeness and accuracy of records of marriage and divorce in registration area states, following the general pattern for testing the completeness and accuracy of birth registration in connection with the censuses of 1940 and 1950, was adopted by a vote of: yes 4, no 3, abstain 1. (There was no discussion of the feasibility of such a test.)

7. The foregoing recommendations will be submitted to the Council at its meeting on September 6th.

8. The question "Should the Committee canvass the membership of the A.S.S. specializing in marriage and divorce regarding the minimum list of items which should be required on the basic records of a state in order for it to be admitted to the MRA or DARA" was considered by mail. The vote was: yes 3, no 4, abstain 1.

9. The most important question discussed by the committee was what action could be taken to further the contemplated MRA and DARA programs. It was agreed that these programs have lagged because of lack of support at national and state levels, and that sociologists must accept part of the blame because until recently they have taken a rather lackadaisical attitude. There was agreement that support was needed at the national level and the state level, with the majority feeling that the latter was more important than the former. Three general procedures were considered specifically:

(a) The officers of A.S.S. would take up with officers of other appropriate national organizations the formation of a national interprofessional committee which would establish state committees in states which need them;

(b) Each regional society of the A.S.S. would establish a committee on marriage and divorce statistics, these committees would be federated by the A.S.S., and the federated committee would arrange for activities in each state;

(c) The A.S.S. committee on marriage and divorce statistics would select a sociologist in each state where support is needed who would organize an interprofessional committee in his state.

10. During the lengthy discussion of this topic it was brought out that (a) action at the state level was necessary, (b) one way of obtaining it was through state interprofessional committees, organized by sociologists, (c) if such state

committees are to be established the interest of regional societies should be used as much as possible, (d) it would not be easy in several states to find a sociologist with sufficient interest to devote the time to do the organizational work which would be needed, (e) nevertheless, this procedure offered possibilities of relatively prompt action in some states, and (f) a national interprofessional committee which could exert national pressure would be helpful (one member deemed it essential) but would be difficult and time consuming to organize.

The consensus of this discussion was that the committee should be enlarged by the appointment of additional members (one selected from each of the regional societies) and should then try to find a sociologist in each state where support is needed who would organize an interprofessional committee in his state. It was agreed that the foregoing action would not prevent the taking of steps to set up a national interprofessional committee.

The following recommendation to the Council was adopted unanimously: that the incoming committee be given authority to add auxiliary members, one from each regional society, to be appointed by the committee after consultation with the president of each regional society.

11. The foregoing resolution will be submitted to the Council at its meeting on September 7.

Respectfully submitted,

HAROLD T. CHRISTENSEN
P. K. WHELPTON
Co-Chairmen

REPORT OF THE LIAISON COMMITTEE ON SOCIOLOGY IN EDUCATION

A brief statement of this committee's origin is essential for an understanding of its activities during the past year. For several years the Committee on Liaison with the National Council for Social Studies has functioned for the American Sociological Society. Various activities were undertaken but its primary purpose was to provide programs for the NCSS meetings and maintain other relations with the organization. Last September this committee recommended to the Council of the American Sociological Society that its function be broadened to include work with all education and teacher training agencies in order that sociologists might provide greater service in the training of teachers and for elementary and secondary education as a whole. This recommendation was approved and in line with the broader function the Executive Committee at its April meeting changed the name to "Liaison Committee on Sociology in Education" with the understanding that it would con-

continue to work with the National Council for Social Studies.

Only preliminary work has been undertaken to carry out the broader function of the Committee. The Committee will meet on September 7th, 1956 to initiate a program for carrying out its additional function. Some steps have already been taken in line with the larger function. The Chairman had preliminary discussions with representatives of the "College Teachers of Education" and through Dr. Warner, the secretary, we have initiated a relationship with the "Committee on Relations between Learned Societies and Education, of the American Council of Learned Societies. The chairman's correspondence with members of the Committee and contact with representatives of several educational organizations makes him hopeful that this committee can be of real service to both sociology and education in the coming years.

The Committee has clarified its relations with the National Council for Social Studies and continues the cooperation of the American Sociological Society with that organization. The Chairman has been appointed a member of its Committee on Cooperation with Learned Societies. The Liaison Committee on Sociology in Education largely through the efforts of Dr. C. G. Swanson has arranged a program on Sociology in Family Life Education for the November program of the National Council for Social Studies at Cleveland. Dr. Longworth of Bowling Green State University and Dr. Christensen of Purdue will headline the two sessions. The sociology programs at these meetings have been well attended by secondary and elementary teachers in the past and I am sure this one will be well received.

This Committee will continue its efforts to provide information on high school sociology texts and encourage the development of adequate materials for secondary school sociology. A report on materials available is being prepared and should be ready for publication soon.

A letter to regional presidents was prepared by this committee and sent by the executive office "to encourage your (regional) society to consider means by which it can assist in promoting more adequate and extensive teaching of sociology and the expansion of sociological training in teacher education." The services of the committee were made available to assist in such activities. It is anticipated that more direct contact with education personnel and agencies can be developed in the regional societies than in the national meetings. Along with this, however, it is hoped that future programs of the American Sociological Society can be arranged to consider the function of sociology in the

training of teachers and other aspects of education.

A further report of this committee will be submitted after its deliberation during the 1956 meetings of the society.

Respectfully submitted,

W. B. BROOKOVER
Chairman

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON IMPLICATIONS OF LEGISLATION THAT LICENSES OR CERTIFIES PSYCHOLOGISTS

Introduction. At the request of the Council of the American Sociological Society, we have undertaken to review existing legislation for the licensing or certifying of psychologists and to present some implications such legislation may have for sociologists.

Background. The steady growth of psychology as a discipline has been accompanied by a rise in the number of psychologists and in the demand for the applied use of psychological skills. Since the end of the Second World War, the membership of the American Psychological Association has leaped to more than 13,000. In the same period, there has been a tremendous expansion of the demand for the services of persons with psychological training. Such requests come from industry, medicine, the public schools, research endeavors of many kinds, and from other applied settings. These developments have presented the APA with grave problems of exercising effective control over its large and diverse membership toward the end of insuring that the public has adequate safeguards as to quality of professional services.

One step toward the solution of these problems was the development of an ethical code for psychologists (1). Conformity with the standards of this code is required for all members of the APA, and persons may be dropped from membership for non-conformity.

A second step consists of establishing legal qualifications for persons who present themselves to the public as competent to offer psychological services. As of this date, such requirements have been enacted in at least the following states (2): Arkansas, Connecticut, Georgia, Kentucky, Maine, Minnesota, New York, Tennessee, and Virginia; and in at least one city (San Diego). Legislation of one sort or another is now in preparation by the psychological associations of most of the more urban states and in many others. It is likely that some kind of legal provisions will be in force in most parts of the United States within the next ten or fifteen years.

To insure the enactment of legislation that would be most beneficial to the profession and the public, the APA established a special committee to study the problem and make recommendations. The recommendations of that committee were adopted as official APA policy by the Association's Council of Representatives at its September 1955 meeting in San Francisco (3). The APA is now committed to the encouragement of what is called "nonrestrictive legislation by title only, or by title and function (with a general rather than a specific definition)."

The meaning of this commitment is better understood when such nonrestrictive legislation is compared with restrictive laws and with voluntary legislation. The Committee on Legislation summarized the distinctions as follows (3, pp. 737-738):

1. *Voluntary legislation* . . . This type of legislation restricts the use of a particular title (*certified psychologist*, for example) to persons who have met certain standards of training and experience set by an examining board. Such legislation has the effect of designating a group of well-qualified practitioners. It does not, however, prohibit anyone from practice so long as he does not use the prescribed title.

2. *Nonrestrictive legislation* . . . Legislation of this sort may take several forms, but they have in common the exemption of certain groups from coverage by the law. Such forms of legislation recognize that professions other than psychology have legitimate contributions to make in the area of psychological services to the public, but it makes mandatory the qualifications of psychologists choosing to provide such services to the public for a fee. There are three important forms that nonrestrictive legislation may take:

A. *By title only* . . . This kind of legislation . . . attempts to bring all members of a particular profession under the law by limiting and controlling the use of a more general title such as "psychologist" or other terms "tending to imply that such a person is practicing as a psychologist." Such a law requires that anyone holding himself out to be a psychologist must meet minimum standards of training and experience set by a board of examiners.

B. *By title and function* . . . This kind of legislation is very similar to Category 2A, except that it contains a definition of practice. The definition may be very general or quite specific. . . . This kind of legislation does not interfere with the work of other professions unless they both use psychological techniques and call themselves psychologists. It cannot legally prohibit the use of psychological techniques by unqualified persons if they call themselves something other than psychologists.

C. *By title and/or function* . . . This type of statute attempts to define the practice of the profession and restrict such practice to qualified persons. It is stronger in its effect than legislation by title and function because the and/or . . . means

that no matter what title is used the practitioner comes under the law.

3. *Restrictive legislation* . . . Such a statute would define a profession solely in terms of its functions. In effect, it would say "anyone doing these things is, *ipso facto*, practicing psychology no matter what he calls himself and comes under the purview of the law."

Four states (Arkansas, Georgia, Kentucky, and Tennessee) and the city of San Diego now have restrictive legislation in force. The laws of three states (Connecticut, Maine, and Minnesota) are in the form of voluntary legislation. The remainder are some variety of nonrestrictive legislation by title only or by title and function.

Against these several alternatives, the APA's choice appears as a moderate and reasonable position. It prefers nonrestrictive to voluntary legislation because the latter proves ineffective in controlling the charlatans and the incompetent. It prefers nonrestrictive legislation by title only, or by title and function, instead of more restrictive laws because it recognizes the difficulty of defining the competence of psychology and the legitimate and often overlapping claims of other professions. Since 1954 (4) the Association has been on record as seeking to foster mutually beneficial relations with allied academic disciplines and with such related professions as social work, education, the ministry, and others. From the frequency with which the Committee on Legislation mentions the matter in its report, these relations with other professions seem to have been a major consideration in the recommendations finally made and adopted.

Since there will be few if any cases in which persons will call themselves psychologists yet perform no psychological functions, the APA's policy is, in effect, a recommendation that state associations seek legislation by "title only" even in those cases in which the law is formally written as restriction by "title and function." It is to the implications for sociologists of this effort to protect the title "psychologist" and words like it that we shall give our principal attention.

Implications for Sociologists. A typical bill of the kind advocated by the APA contains a clause like that of the law being proposed in Michigan:

No person may use the titles, "certified consulting psychologist," "certified psychologist," or "certified psychological technician" unless he has a certificate specifying him to be such under the provisions of this act. . . .

No person, other than a certified consulting psychologist, may advertise or represent himself to the public in any way which will lead the public to believe that he is a psychologist or that he is

rendering or offering to render psychological services.

A person is so advertising or representing himself within the meaning of that section if (i) he uses or allows to be used, in describing himself or his services, in any kind of advertising or representation, such terms as, by way of illustration but not of limitation, psychologist and psychological, psychoconsultant and psychoconsultation, psychotechnician and psychotechnical, psychometrician and psychometric, psychophysicist and psychophysical; and (ii) in connection with such advertising or representation he renders or offers to render services for or in expectation of a fee or anything of value.

Certain exceptions may then be stated, as these in the Michigan proposal:

Any person may use such terms in connection with any publication or addresses before public or private groups.

A person who is an employee of another person, corporation, or legal entity, may use such terms in respect to service rendered to his employer or to fellow employees or to applicants for employment within the scope of his employment, so long as such employment does not involve relationships with or services rendered to persons who are not employees of the employer.

An employee of a recognized school, hospital, college or university, or of any government, federal, state, or local, who has an employment title which would come within the prohibition of this section, may use his employment title in conjunction with services performed within the scope of his employment even though such employee is not certified under this act.

It is quite clear that this type of legislation does nothing to hamper the work of sociologists who use methods of gathering data, such as projective tests, that commonly are regarded as psychological in character, or who give advice to persons or organizations, so long as they do not represent themselves or their work for "anything of value" as psychological in character. Further, such a law has no effect on the sociologist's freedom to speak or write of his work as psychological so long as, in doing so, the services he renders are "within the scope of his employment." Finally, no sociologist would be in jeopardy if, as an employee of the several organizations enumerated, he has an employment title otherwise prohibited. In all these respects the law proposed for Michigan is a model of fulfilling the objectives of the APA in protecting the interests of related professions.

Such specific and protecting disclaimers are not, however, a necessary feature of legislation that otherwise falls within the APA's preferred forms. Thus the bill recently enacted in the State of New York (5) reads simply:

A person represents himself to be a "psychologist" when he holds himself out to the public by

any title or description of services incorporating the words "psychological," "psychologist" or "psychology," and under such title or description offers to render or renders services to individuals, corporations, or the public for remuneration.

Taken at its face value, such a law seems to make it illegal for a person to be called a psychologist and to offer psychological services (under the stated conditions) unless he is certified by the state board of examiners.

When protecting disclaimers such as those proposed for Michigan are present, the sociologists most directly affected are those who, as social psychologists, perform services in that capacity outside the employment settings that are specified. We are informed by the Legislative Research Bureau of the University of Michigan that the courts may define a man's employment setting as the employment from which he obtains the major portion of his yearly income. If such a definition were given it might mean that a person with the position, let us say, of a social psychologist in a college or university, or in some other organization, would not legally act as a consultant offering social psychological skills in his off-hours or during the summer recess without being certified by the state board of examiners in psychology. Such consulting might range from acting as an advisory reader of manuscripts for publishers to performing as a "resource" person with social psychological skills in programs of training or organization or research. (If a sufficiently broad interpretation were given, this might also hamper the work of some sociologists, such as those who, despite other regular employment, act as consultants to public or private agencies that define the sociologist's services as, in part, psychological. Illustrative of the latter situation would be many positions involving sociologists who consult or advise on industrial problems, programs of race relations, and studies of public attitudes. In short, much depends on the judgment made by enforcing agencies.)

Certain other potential implications of this type of legislation are more speculative and more difficult to assess. We may list the following:

1. There may be implications for the prestige and integrity of a profession, such as that of the social psychologist with a background in sociology, if it is given legal supervision by members of another profession.

2. There may be implications for the future employment possibilities of social psychologists trained in sociology if public and private organizations (including civil service commissions) begin to adopt the requirements of state boards of examiners in psychology as their own. At present, positions for social psychologists often ask for persons with de-

grees either in psychology or in sociology. In a relatively unformed field, these optional requirements are understandable. They may be restricted to those of the state examiners in psychology once such definite criteria are available.

3. There is some possibility that social psychologists trained in sociology may not be able to meet the requirements for certification under the rules of the state examiners in psychology or under the legislation as presently drafted. Since there are differences in emphasis in the training given social psychologists in psychology and in sociology, and since there are even some points of major theoretical dispute and emphasis, sociological social psychologists may not meet the standards of such state boards.

Further, the present legislation may, if so construed, make it impossible for social psychologists with Ph.D.'s in sociology to meet the formal requirements. Thus the New York law requires that a person must have:

received the doctoral degree based on a program of studies whose content was primarily psychological from an educational institution having a graduate program registered by the department, or its substantial equivalent in both subject matter and extent of training.

and shall have:

had at least two years of satisfactory supervised experience in rendering psychological services.

The proposed Michigan legislation requires that the candidate:

Be duly graduated with a doctoral degree in psychology, or its equivalent, from a reputable institution . . .

4. There may be long-term implications for the legitimacy of a major in social psychology as offered in sociology departments.

All of the problems and implications already listed for sociologists will, of course, apply in those states in which restrictive legislation is enacted. In addition, *and depending on the specific wording of the laws concerned*, sociologists may conceivably find that some of their normal activities in teaching, research, or consultation violate the state code. The Tennessee bill is illustrative of these potentialities with its provision that:

A person practices as a "Psychological Examiner" within the meaning of this Act when he holds himself to be a Psychological Examiner and/or renders to individuals or to the public for remuneration any service involving the application of recognized principles, methods and procedures of the science and profession of psychology, such as interviewing or administering and interpreting tests of mental abilities, aptitudes, interests and personality characteristics, for such purposes as psychological evaluation or for educational or vocational selection, guidance or placement.

Voluntary legislation appears to have no special implications for the activities of sociologists. It is restricted to limiting the use of a

specific title (e.g. Certified Psychologist) to those meeting special requirements.

Conclusion. The APA and its state affiliates have faced the problem of professional self-regulation by establishing a code of ethics and by working for the enactment of state legislation to insure that the public receives a high quality of professional service. The APA, in the letter and the spirit of its policy recommendations for such state legislation, has sought to protect the legitimate interests of *other professions*. It is almost inherent that early legislative efforts in line with APA policy will prove in need of revision, and it would not be surprising if other professions discovered that such laws contain unintended but undesirable implications. It seems desirable that, when such undesirable implications are discovered, sister professions work directly with the APA to develop more satisfactory means of protecting the public and the disciplines and professions concerned.

Respectfully submitted,

THEODORE M. NEWCOMB

ELBRIDGE SIBLEY

GUY E. SWANSON

Chairman

REFERENCES

1. The American Psychological Association, *Ethical Standards of Psychologists*. 1953.
2. We are informed that ten states have such legislation. This information comes from Dr. Fillmore H. Sanford, Executive Secretary of the APA. His office forwarded us copies of the bills passed by eight legislatures and called our attention to the law just passed by New York State and printed in *The American Psychologist* for June, 1956. We do not know the name of the tenth state to which he has reference.
3. "Joint Report of the APA and CSPA Committees on Legislation," *The American Psychologist*, 10 (November, 1955), 727-756.
4. The American Psychological Association, *Psychology and Its Relations with Other Professions*. 1954.
5. "New York State Legislation," *The American Psychologist*, 11 (June, 1956), 292-296.

REPORT OF REPRESENTATIVE TO SOCIAL SCIENCE RESEARCH COUNCIL

The Social Science Research Council is completing its thirty-second year of activity in the promotion of research in the social sciences. The Council has a permanent professional staff of ten, with its principal office in New York, an office in Washington, D. C., and until recently a Pacific Coast Office at the University of California, at Berkeley. It is controlled by

a Board of Directors, three from the American Sociological Society, and three from each of the other constituent societies—the American Anthropological Association, American Economic Association, American Historical Association, American Political Science Association, American Psychological Association, and the American Statistical Association. In addition to these representatives of constituent societies, there are nine Directors-at-Large.

The Directors meet twice a year, taking responsibility for the financial affairs of the Council, and engaging in general planning and co-ordination of the various research programs supported by its grants and fellowships. In general the emphasis is interdisciplinary and on the development of research capacities in promising investigators. While a number of team projects are supported, there is also support to individuals through the fellowship and research grants-in-aid programs, and during the past year the number of persons granted such individual support approached two hundred. Grants were made to undergraduates, working closely under the supervision of a member of the faculty, to first-year graduate students, to advanced graduates and new doctors, and to investigators in all stages of their careers.

An important part of the Council activity is the stimulation of committees for the planning and appraisal of research in various social science fields and interdisciplinary areas. Thirty-one such committees have been active during the year. Among the topics of interest to sociologists may be mentioned Census Monographs, Civil-Military Relations Research, History of Science, Identification of Talent, Mathematical Training of Social Scientists, Migration Differentials, Social Statistics (Pacific Coast Committee), Personality Development, Psychiatry and Social Science Research, Research Training, Scaling Theory and Methods, and Social Behavior. These committees usually have five to ten members, with one or two members of the professional staff to help out. They meet from time to time, and ordinarily carry on their activities for several years, usually bringing out some publications and leaving a residue of stimulated interest in a new field of activity.

The Council has also supported a few summer institutes and seminars, to bring together investigators, and to train younger scholars in the newer methods of research. Of recent interest are the 1955 Summer Institutes in Mathematics for Social Scientists at Michigan and Stanford, the 1956 Institute on Law and Social Relations at Harvard, a 1956 Research Training Seminar for graduate students of vari-

ous universities, held at the University of Oregon under the direction of Robin Williams of Cornell University. A Seminar on Organizational Theory is planned for 1957 at Carnegie Institute of Technology.

The Council has subsidized the publication of a number of books, monographs, bulletins, and pamphlets, many of these containing the fruits of the work of committees.

A more complete statement of the Council's activities may be found in its annual report, of nearly a hundred pages in length.

The Directors and Staff of the Council are continuously interested in locating and supporting new directions of research interest. Communications from members of this Society are heartily welcomed.

Respectfully submitted,

ROBERT E. L. FARIS
Senior Representative

REPORT OF THE REPRESENTATIVE ON THE COUNCIL OF THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION

The International Sociological Association is holding its Third Congress in Amsterdam August 22-29, 1956. The general topic is "Problems of Change in the Twentieth Century." Between 400 and 500 scholars are expected to attend. For the first time there will be a substantial number from Russia and Eastern Europe. Some 20 United States sociologists are on the program. A grant from the Ford Foundation to the International Sociological Association of \$10,000 to be used for travel expenses to those contributing leading papers is making possible representation from many parts of the world. The Netherlands government and the City of Amsterdam are being most generous. They have made available a meeting place and are extending lavish hospitality.

ROBERT C. ANGELL
Representative

REPORT OF THE REPRESENTATIVE TO THE AMERICAN CORRECTIONAL ASSOCIATION

The 86th year of the activities of the American Correctional Association, which is the recently adopted new name of the American Prison Association, started with the 85th Annual Congress in Des Moines, Iowa, in September, 1955.

The Congress was as usual devoted to the reading of papers and discussion of current issues in the field of correction in meetings

planned and organized by many different standing committees and affiliated organizations. This particular Congress had some distinctly international overtones due to the fact that it was preceded by the First United Nations Congress on the Prevention of Crime and Treatment of Offenders in Geneva in August, and the Third International Congress on Criminology in London in September. Many of the key persons of the Congress of Correction had participated in these two international events and the reports on the deliberations of these congresses and the recommendations adopted there were presented to the membership of the Association.

As was pointed out in one of the previous reports of this representative to the Association, the trend towards greater professionalization of the field of correction was apparent also at this Congress and in the activities of the Association throughout the year. The number of papers presented by professional researchers, and the type of discussion developed in the open sessions and committee meetings of the Congress clearly testified to the continued transition from an organization of custodial officers, disciplinarians and political appointees, to an organization of men who devote their lives to a profession for which many of them are prepared by a considerable amount of academic training.

The broad new title of the Association, the American Correctional Association, makes plausible a broader program within the entire field of correction rather than a program devoted to the institutional treatment of offenders, as the earlier title of the American Prison Association suggested. Some development in this direction could be felt, but on the whole the Association still remains to a large extent an Association of institutional workers *par excellence*.

In a more formal vein it should be pointed out that the representative of the American Sociological Society to the Association attended the Des Moines Congress and was responsible for an open session of the Research and Planning Committee, a part of a general session of the Congress and presented a paper in the area of training of correctional personnel. The representative of this Society was continued as Chairman of the Committee on Research and Planning and in that capacity was made responsible for two sessions on research at the 1956 Congress of Correction in Los Angeles, one dealing with correctional statistics and the other with correctional research in California. Besides, he was invited to chair and prepare the program for one of the general sessions of the Congress entitled "Research Makes Sense,"

which is devoted to the issue of research in the correctional field. This is believed to be the first general session of the Congress entirely devoted to research.

This representative developed plans for a research project to analyze the content of the annual volumes published by the American Correctional Association, in which the proceedings of the Association's Congresses have been reported for the 86 years of its existence, and received a grant of \$5,600.00 from the New York Foundation through the Association for carrying out this research.

Respectfully submitted,

PETER P. LEJINS
Representative

REPORT OF THE REPRESENTATIVE ON THE NATIONAL CONFERENCE ON PAROLE

The National Conference on Parole, which was held April 9, 10 and 11, 1956, in Washington, D. C., was called by the Attorney General of the United States in cooperation with the National Probation and Parole Association and the United States Board of Parole. The Conference had a three-fold officially announced purpose:

1. "To evaluate existing parole standards and practices,
2. To promulgate and publish manual and guide material on parole principles and practices which will be of practical value to public officials and citizen leaders in the improvement of their parole systems,
3. To focus nation-wide attention upon the importance of parole in the control of delinquency and crime."

The previous Conference of this nature convened in 1939 and resulted in the formulation of the Declaration of Parole Principles. The 1956 Conference was supposed to perform a similar function after a 17 year interval.

The governor of each state and territory was requested to appoint three Conference voting delegates who could best represent juvenile and adult parole. Parole and correction officials in each state and territory were requested to suggest fifteen delegates at large representing administration of parole and related agencies, the judiciary, law enforcement, and interested laymen. The three Conference organizations appointed a total of fifty Conference voting delegates from the national level.

The work of the Conference was carried out by 12 workshops, the titles of which provide good insight into the subject matter which the Conference was supposed to handle: Parole

Concepts and Terminology; Sentencing and Parole Laws; Parole Board Structure; Parole Board Functions; Parole and Public Relations; Preparation for Parole; Criteria for Parole Selection; Detainers and Warrants and Procedures for Violators; Parole Staff; Parole Supervision; Discharge From Parole; and Statistical and Administrative Reporting.

In addition to the workshops, a Conference Assembly was held at which the recommendations prepared by the workshops were heard, amended and adopted. In addition several general sessions were held, at which conventional addresses by experts and dignitaries in the area of law enforcement were heard, such as the keynote address by Chief Justice Earl Warren, Attorney General Herbert Brownell, Jr. and others.

The following represents a brief summary of some of the more important recommendations adopted by the Conference Assembly.

Perhaps the most important item is the recommendation that every prisoner should be released under supervision, and no unconditional releases at the expiration of sentence should take place. This recommendation brings to the level of a nationally endorsed principle the century-old idea of the so-called progressive system of incarceration, which visualizes the treatment of the offender as a continuous process of gradual rehabilitation, proceeding by steps from the original incarceration to the ultimate return of the offender to his community as a normal member.

Another important development is the recognition that the paroling of an inmate should take place at the time of his optimum response to the correctional program of the institution. Also here we have the recognition of the old plan of determining and acting upon the maximum parolability of the inmate as developed once upon a time by Ferris F. Laune in his research within the Illinois prison system.

Another suggestion of considerable interest is the proposal for establishing special rehabilitation centers for preparing parolees for discharge.

There are several rather conventional, but still necessary, recommendations which stress the need for further freeing the parole systems from political influence and stressing the professional qualifications of the parole board members and parole officers.

Of some interest is the suggestion made by the Workshop on Statistical and Administrative Reporting that plans should be made for the eventual routine compilation of criminal-career statistics, rather than keeping the present segmented collections of statistics on probationers, inmates of institutions, parolees, etc.

The members of this Society will be interested to know that there were many sociologists among the delegates and a score of nationally known authorities representing our discipline. This is significant as an index of the trends in the area of parole. The ties with the professional social scientists, specifically sociologists, are obviously very strong and even a casual look at the Conference Assembly immediately disclosed a heavy sprinkling of Ph.D.'s.

Respectfully submitted,

PETER J. LEJINS
Representative

REPORT OF THE REPRESENTATIVE TO THE DEWEY DECIMAL CLASSIFICATION SYSTEM

There is nothing to report on the activities of the Dewey Decimal System this year. The staff carrying on this work at the Library of Congress has had no problems on which the Society's advice was required.

Respectfully submitted,

MAPHEUS SMITH
Representative

REPORT OF THE REPRESENTATIVE TO THE AMERICAN ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF SCIENCE

The AAAS held its annual meeting in Atlanta, Georgia, December 1955, and the attendance was the largest of any AAAS meeting ever held in the South. Due to several queries and protests concerning holding the meeting in the South, I was requested by the Council of the American Sociological Society to survey the situation in Atlanta and report to the Society's president, Dr. Blumer. I attended the Atlanta meeting and not only observed the situation, but discussed it with members of the AAAS Council and Negro members in attendance at the meetings. All of the meetings officially sponsored by the AAAS were unsegregated, but there was of course the expected problems with reference to lodging, meals, and transportation. The concern of many members of this Society was shared by others associated with the AAAS and the Committee on Resolutions prepared for the Council's consideration the following resolution:

"The American Association for the Advancement of Science is a democratic association of all its members; no one is barred from election because of race or creed. All members are privileged to cooperate freely in the fulfillment of the Association's high objectives which are the furtherance of science

and human welfare. No member is limited in his service because of race or creed.

"In order that the Association may attain its objectives, it is necessary and desirable that all members may freely meet for scientific discussions, the exchange of ideas, and the diffusion of established knowledge. This they must be able to do in formal meetings and in informal social gatherings. These objectives cannot be fulfilled if free association of the members is hindered by unnatural barriers.

"Therefore be it resolved that the annual meeting of the American Association for the Advancement of Science be held under conditions that make possible the satisfaction of those ideals and requirements."

After extensive debate over the effects and propriety of adopting such a resolution, and following the defeat of motions to table the resolution and to make it an order of business at the 1956 meeting, Council voted to submit the resolution by mail to the entire Council membership. It was further voted that following the receipt of ballots on the resolution, the AAAS office should publish the resolution and the vote on it.

The resolution was adopted by a mail vote of 224 to 31, with only 3 abstaining, and the resolution and the fact of its adoption were on 23 January 1956 released to the press. I reported this fact and my impressions of the meeting to Dr. Blumer with the recommendation that no separate action be taken by the American Sociological Society at this time. Dr. Blumer concurred in this recommendation.

Other resolutions adopted at the Atlanta meeting endorsed the efforts being made to amend the McCarran-Walter Act to remove those provisions that limit the travel of recognized foreign scholars and scientists to this country, and favored the use of funds of the United States through the National Science Foundation and other appropriate government agencies to supplement the travel costs of United States citizens to attend scientific meetings and congresses in foreign countries. In addition, a resolution was made from the floor and adopted by the Council for the creation of an interim committee on the social aspects of science. This resolution was as follows:

"Whereas science has become one of the major factors of modern civilization; and whereas its rapid development has and is producing many major sociological problems affecting the efficiency of research, the application of the results of research, the incorporation of its concepts and its results into the social structure, and the actual conduct of research and the development of science; and whereas it is highly likely that the welfare of science and of society will be promoted by a comprehensive examination of the problems being created; and whereas the American Association for the Advance-

ment of Science is representative of the broad scope of science and has already assumed some responsibility for the broad problems created by science; it is hereby resolved that the Council of the American Association for the Advancement of Science should organize an interim committee to be called 'The Interim Committee on the Social Aspects of Science.' It is recommended that this committee shall be composed of five members of the Council and be appointed by the president of the AAAS for a period of 1 year. The committee shall examine generally the sociological problems being created by science and present to the next annual meeting of the Council recommendations for action if such are found necessary."

The president of the Association for 1956 is Professor Paul B. Sears of Yale University, and the president-elect is Professor Laurence H. Snyder of the University of Oklahoma. The chairman of Section K is Dr. Benjamin H. Williams, president of the National Academy of Economics and Political Science, and a member of the faculty of the Industrial College of the Armed Forces. Dr. Conrad Taeuber was elected a member of the Executive Committee.

The new headquarters building at 1515 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W., Washington, D. C. has been completed and the opening ceremonies will be held on 12 October. Along with the new building, the Association has a new constitution and set of bylaws. The 1956 AAAS socio-psychological prize was announced earlier in the year and the judging committee consists of Drs. Kimball Young, Fred L. Strodbeck, and Raymond V. Bowers.

The 1956 meeting of the Association will be held in New York City and the Society has been asked if it wishes to arrange a session either by itself or in conjunction with the American Statistical Association or with Section K itself. This request has been submitted to the Executive Officer of the Society.

So far as I can determine, there are comparatively few sociologists on the membership rolls of the AAAS. This may, in part, be due to the lack of periodic information about AAAS activities appearing in our periodicals. Your representative will try to remedy this in the future.

Respectfully submitted,
RAYMOND V. BOWERS
Representative

REPORT OF THE REPRESENTATIVE TO THE AMERICAN COUNCIL OF LEARNED SOCIETIES

The American Council of Learned Societies had its annual meeting January 26-27, 1956 in

Washington. The general topic discussed in three panels of delegates was "Progress and Survival: The Present-day Relevance of Eighteenth-century Thought." Your delegate was unable to be present, but Dr. Wellman Warner, Secretary of the American Sociological Society, attended.

The outlook for the future of the A.C.L.S. remains uncertain. Grants have been received from the Carnegie Corporation and the Houghton Foundation sufficient to keep the organization operating for another year. The Board of Directors continues actively to seek a form of organization and a program that will attract foundation or other support on a more permanent basis.

Respectfully submitted,

ROBERT C. ANGELL
Representative

REPORT OF THE REPRESENTATIVE TO THE JOINT COMMITTEE ON PUBLIC HEALTH AND THE BEHAVIORAL SCIENCES

The Committee on Public Health and the Behavioral Sciences was established early in 1955 to develop a channel of communication between the several behavioral sciences and workers in the field of public health. It was an outgrowth of earlier discussions between representatives of the American Public Health Association and the American Psychological Association, who then invited the American Sociological Society and the American Anthropological Society, through their presidents, to designate three members each to join with a like number of representatives of the sponsoring associations to consider what might be done to promote better utilization of social science findings in the solution of public health problems. The representatives designated by President Donald Young were Dr. Bernard Kutner, Dr. Robert Straus, and myself.

At the first meeting of the group in New York in April, 1955, it was agreed that continuing exploratory efforts by this group would serve a useful purpose for all of the disciplines represented. The broad objectives of the Committee were seen as the promotion of means to make available to workers in the field of public health the relevant theories and research findings of the behavioral sciences and to make available to the behavioral scientists knowledge of public health trends, problems, and research possibilities. It was further felt that the group should seek to delineate joint

research possibilities and to stimulate the development and support of interdisciplinary projects in public health content areas. In its subsequent discussions, the Committee has been to a large extent action-oriented in terms of the substantive problems entailed in establishing closer working relationships between behavioral scientists and public health workers.

During the past year the group has held two meetings in New York City, on October 27, 1955 and April 27, 1956. Representatives of the several disciplines inventoried promising developments and problems in their respective fields. It was observed that not only is relevant knowledge from the behavioral sciences little used in the solution of public health problems, but that many problems in the area of public health offer social scientists an opportunity for studying phenomena of great theoretical significance to their own fields. There has been a substantial increase of individual participation of behavioral scientists in public health in recent years, but this development has been little reflected in training programs in the behavioral sciences or in the coherent interpretation to public health workers of what the several behavioral sciences have to offer and how they work together. Field personnel in public health, who are to a large extent divorced from academic circles, are especially lacking in awareness of recent developments in the behavioral sciences, yet it is precisely in field operations that such developments may most fruitfully be applied.

Actions taken by the Committee include efforts to identify approaches and procedures whereby behavioral scientists and public health personnel can work more closely together towards solving the problems noted above, efforts to develop criteria for the collection of case studies of effective instances of utilization of the behavioral sciences in public health programs, the stimulation of seminars on social science and public health in university and public health settings, and an agreement to meet with program directors within the Public Health Service to discuss ways in which social science research can contribute to public health programs relating to aging and the chronic diseases. The question of extension of the Committee to include representatives of other professional groups has been discussed; it was felt desirable that the action-oriented affiliates of the several behavioral science associations might appropriately be identified with the Committee but that this would not necessarily involve an extension of the Committee because these groups are

already represented by members. The affiliated societies are: For Sociology, the Society for the Study of Social Problems; for Anthropology, the Society for Applied Anthropology; and for Psychology, the Society for the Psychological Study of Social Issues.

At the last meeting of the Committee, it was proposed that the Committee provide guidance in the preparation of a book of readings on social science and public health. The preparation of such a book had been authorized by the Council of Division 9 (the Society for the Psychological Study of Social Issues), American Psychological Association, which had asked Dr. Andie Knutson (co-chairman of the Committee on Public Health and the Behavioral Sciences) to undertake the task. The SPSSI Council has further recommended that Dr. Knutson secure the cooperation of a sociologist and an anthropologist in this endeavor and that key members of the Committee on Public Health and the Behavioral Sciences be invited to serve as a guiding group in developing this publication. In reacting to this proposal, members of the Committee felt that the book might better be sponsored jointly by all four associations represented in the Committee and be published jointly by them on an equal partnership basis if the governing bodies of these associations approved of such a course. In subsequent discussion of this topic with Dr. Marie Jahoda, President of SPSSI, Dr. Knutson was authorized to explore the feasibility of this arrangement and requested that the writer bring the matter to the attention of the Council of the American Sociological Society.

The proposal as presently formulated is that a book of readings consisting both of previously published research reports and theoretical discussions and papers prepared specifically for the volume would be edited by Dr. Knutson, Dr. Benjamin Paul, representing Anthropology, and the writer. Publication costs would be borne jointly by the four sponsoring associations which would subsequently receive the proceeds from the sale of the volume. I noted that to my knowledge the American Sociological Society had not previously entered into such sponsorship of a publication, though the Society for the Study of Social Problems had done

so. The proposal is therefore being presented both to the Council of the American Sociological Society and to the Executive Committee of the Society for the Study of Social Problems as well as to the other associations represented on the Committee.

At the time that President Young appointed the original representatives to the Committee on Public Health and the Behavioral Sciences, it was not at all clear whether such a Committee would have a single meeting or would continue to be in existence for some time. It now appears that the Committee is likely to carry on its operations over a period of some years. The Society's representatives would appreciate receiving any guidance which the officers of the Society may wish to offer and would welcome any consideration given to the mode of assuring appropriate representation.

Respectfully submitted,

JOHN A. CLAUSEN
Representative

COMMITTEE MEMBERSHIP

The composition of other Committees appointed by President Merton is as follows:

Membership Committee

Raymond F. Sletto, *Chairman*

Committee on Research

E. William Noland, *Chairman*

Franz Adler	Solon Kimball
Paul J. Campisi	Fred L. Strodbeck
Theodore Caplow	Samuel Strong
Otis Dudley Duncan	H. Ashley Weeks
Alvin Gouldner	Robert F. Winch

Chairmen of other Committees thus far appointed by President Merton are as follows:

Committee on Publications, Leonard S. Cottrell, Jr.
Budget Committee, Stuart Queen

Selection Committee on Awards, Robert Bierstedt

Liaison Committee on Sociology and Education,
Wilbur Brookover

Committee on Relations with Sociologists in Other Countries, Herbert Blumer

Committee on Social Statistics, Dudley Kirk

Committee on Training and Professional Standards,
Elbridge Sibley

NEWS AND ANNOUNCEMENTS



OBITUARIES

Henry Pratt Fairchild 1880-1956

Henry Pratt Fairchild was born in Dundee, Illinois, received the A.B. degree from Doane College, Nebraska, and the Ph.D. from Yale University. He began his long teaching career at The International College, Smyrna in 1900. After serving on the faculty at Bowdoin College, he went to Yale University (1910-18) where he taught courses in economics and the science of society. During World War I he held an administrative position in War Camp Community Service.

Fairchild's major teaching appointment was at New York University where it extended over a period of 26 years, from 1919 until his retirement in 1945, and where he became chairman of the Department of Sociology in the Graduate School. During the years 1929-31 he was president of the American Eugenics Society, and from 1934-38, president of the Population Association of America. He was one of the leaders in the planned parenthood movement in the United States. In his presidential address as the 26th president of the American Sociological Society (1936), he pointed out how governing the people of the United States involves the organization and co-ordination of many diverse social elements, and yet in the national government "an almost negligible part of the responsibility is entrusted to sociologists." In this same address, which was entitled "Business as an Institution," he discussed a favorite theme of his, namely, the relations of sociology and economics. After defining business as an organization of social elements for the production of goods and services, he contended that the sociologist's role is to analyze the integration of social elements in the business process, while economics analyzes the productive aspects. Thus, it is essential that sociologists and economists work side by side at closely re-

lated aspects of the same process instead of simply speaking "to each other politely when they casually meet."

Fairchild was the author of a number of books, for example, his *Greek Immigration to the United States* (1911) and *Immigration* (1913) were supplemented by *Race and Nationality* (1947). His *General Sociology* appeared in 1934, but he is most widely known for the *Dictionary of Sociology* (1944), of which he was the editor. Of his sixty major articles about one-third were on immigration, one-fourth on population, and others related to the family, social work, and world organization. He lectured widely and served on "innumerable boards," because he considered that one of the functions of a sociologist is to make the findings of sociology intelligible to the general public. Always an independent thinker, he did not hesitate to speak forthrightly on leading social and economic problems.

EMORY S. BOGARDUS

University of Southern California

Alfred C. Kinsey 1894-1956

Dr. Alfred C. Kinsey, America's foremost contemporary student of human sexual behavior, died unexpectedly in late August, at age 62. His death brought a sense of shock and sudden loss to most of the civilized world. So extensive has been the impact of his work upon men's thinking (and perhaps behavior) that his name has become both famous and a byword. The controversy that has raged around him has not detracted from his stature nor from the magnitude of his contributions, for he has had the courage to tackle that which was taboo, and to stay with his chosen work in the face of persistent criticism and pressure.

Trained as a zoologist, Kinsey rather early had attracted the attention of fellow scientists by his studies on the gall wasp. It was nearly two decades ago while at Indiana

University, and confronted with student questions on human sexual behavior which could not be answered objectively, that he determined to turn his research skills toward the removal of some of the ignorance, prejudice, and fear people held about sex. He started the research in 1939, attracted others to join him in the endeavor, obtained supplementary financial support from the Rockefeller Foundation, organized the Institute for Sex Research on Indiana University campus in 1947, published *Sexual Behavior in the Human Male* in 1948, *Sexual Behavior in the Human Female* in 1953, and was busy with interviewing and the planning of several additional volumes until almost the time of his death.

Whatever may be one's position on the general validity of Kinsey's findings and interpretations, it can at least be said that he has pioneered in making sex respectable and in applying the scientific method to an understanding of human sexual behavior. Though sociologists may wish that his data were confined less to the purely biological, they can at least appreciate the fact that Kinsey, himself a biologist, was a member of the American Sociological Society; and they can realize that his data, even as they stand, are rich in sociological implications. Perhaps the next step is up to us.

HAROLD T. CHRISTENSEN

Purdue University

The *Review* also records with regret the deaths of:

Paul Barrabee in Newton Center, Massachusetts. Dr. Barrabee received the Ph.D. in Sociology from Harvard University in 1951 and was a Research Associate in Psychiatry at Harvard Medical School. His fields of specialization included family, mental health, and counseling.

Frank J. Bruno, an Emeritus member in Belfast, Maine. Professor Bruno had been a member of the Society since 1918. He taught sociology and social work at the University of Minnesota from 1915-1925 and served as Head of the Departments of Sociology and Social Work from 1919-1922. From 1925-1945 he was Head of the Department of Social Work at Washington University in St. Louis. His publications in-

clude *Theory of Social Work* (1936) and *Trends in Social Work* (1948).

J. Francis Finnegan, Executive Director of the Crime Prevention Association in Philadelphia. He had been a staff member of the Association for 18 years.

Robert P. Guyot, Jr., a candidate for the M.A. at Indiana University.

Thomas A. C. Rennie, in New York City. He received the M.D. in Medicine-Psychiatry from Harvard Medical College in 1928. Dr. Rennie was a Professor of Social Psychiatry and had been Director of an inter-disciplinary study on community mental health.

Henry A. Schooley in Pittsburgh. Mr. Schooley was on the staff of the Juvenile Court of Allegheny County, Pennsylvania. He received the B.A. from San Diego State College in 1950, the M.A. in sociology from the University of Pittsburgh in 1952, and did additional study at West Virginia University and the University of Pittsburgh.

Faye Higier Von Mering, a member of the Department of Sociology at Smith College. Dr. Von Mering received the A.B. from the University of California, Los Angeles, the M.A. in Anthropology from the University of Chicago in 1947, and the Ph.D. in Sociology from Radcliffe College in 1952.

Emiko Julie Watanabe, of Notre Dame Academy, in Roxbury, Massachusetts. Miss Watanabe, a student member of the Society, was a candidate for the M.A. in sociology at Boston College. In 1954 she served as Research Assistant at the University of Michigan Center for Japanese Studies in Japan.



Educational Testing Service offers two research fellowships in psychometrics leading to the Ph.D. degree at Princeton University. Each fellowship carries a stipend of \$2,500 a year and is normally renewable. The closing date for completing applications is January 4, 1957. Information and application blanks may be obtained from: Director of Psychometric Fellowship Program, Educational Testing Service, 20 Nassau Street, Princeton, New Jersey.

The National Foundation for Infantile Paralysis announces that fellowships are available for social scientists who desire to apply their professional skills to the emotional, social, and psychological problems of patients with physical disabilities. The program of study must be undertaken

in a rehabilitation program in which medical and medical associate personnel are offering integrated services. Research and teaching interests are highly desirable. Candidate must have demonstrated competence in his profession as indicated by his academic position, research productivity or experience. Graduate students with not less than two years of completed work toward the Ph.D. will be considered.

Financial support for the Fellow ranges from \$3,600 to \$6,000 a year depending upon marital status and number of dependents. Under unusual circumstance, higher stipends may be permitted. For a full academic program, complete tuition and fees are paid; for other programs, a sum not to exceed \$1,250 including tuition may be arranged. All applicants must be citizens of the United States. Applications must be received by March 1 for consideration in May, by September 1 for consideration in November, and by December 1, for February. For further information write to: Division of Professional Education, National Foundation for Infantile Paralysis, 120 Broadway, New York 5.

Russell Sage Foundation announces the continuation of its program of residencies for training and experience in applications of behavioral science in health and welfare. Applicants are eligible for consideration for appointment if they: (1) have received the doctorate or will have completed all requirements for the doctorate in sociology, social psychology, or anthropology before the date on which the requested residency is to begin; (2) are not over thirty-five years of age; (3) have records which clearly indicate superior ability; and (4) are definitely interested in careers involving behavioral science and professional practice in either health or welfare.

Appointments are made for one year with the possibility of renewal for one additional year. Awards may be made at any time during the year. Stipends range from \$3,500 to \$5,000. The letter of application should explain in some detail the nature of the candidate's interests in a career of the kind indicated and the experience and training desired. The details of the work program and location of the residency requested need not be specified but will be arranged in the case of successful candidates in consultation with the Foundation staff.

A brief biographical statement including the candidate's place and date of birth, marital status, educational record, employment experience, and titles of his published writings should be enclosed with the letter of application. Names and addresses of three to five persons from whom the Foundation may request letters of reference should be given. Applications and requests for further information should be addressed to Russell Sage Foundation, 505 Park Avenue, New York 22, New York.

Rural Sociological Society. The following officers have been elected for the academic year 1956-57: President, Irwin T. Sanders; President Elect, Olaf Larson; Vice President, Harold Hoff-sommer; Member of Executive Committee, Paul A. Miller; Member of Teaching Committee, Vernon J. Parenton; Member of Research Committee,

Charles R. Hoffer; Member of Extension Committee, Arthur F. Wileden; Member of Editorial Board, Neal Gross.

The Society for Applied Anthropology. W. F. Whyte is now editor of *Human Organization*. Manuscripts should be addressed as follows: William F. Whyte, Editor, *Human Organization*, New York State School of Industrial and Labor Relations, Cornell University, Ithaca, New York.

Adelphi College has been awarded a grant of \$18,720 by the U. S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare for a study of the effect of social and community factors on job placement and tenure of handicapped employees in two local industrial plants. The project is being undertaken by the sociology department and directed by E. Louise Ware, chairman.

Brown University. The Department of Sociology is initiating courses in Anthropology. J. Louis Giddings, formerly of the Department of Anthropology, University of Pennsylvania, has been appointed Associate Professor and Director of the newly acquired Haffenreffer Museum. During the summer Giddings continued his field explorations in Alaska under a grant from the Arctic Institute of North America and the Office of Naval Research.

Kurt B. Mayer has been promoted to the rank of Professor. During the fall semester, he is on sabbatic leave carrying on his studies in population.

Dennis H. Wrong comes from the University of Toronto as Assistant Professor.

Blaine E. Mercer of the University of Colorado is spending the year as Visiting Assistant Professor under a grant from the Carnegie Corporation.

Sidney Goldstein is preparing a volume on consumer behavior of the aged population under the auspices of the Consumer Expenditures Survey being jointly conducted by the Wharton School of Finance and Commerce and the Bureau of Labor Statistics.

University of Connecticut. Arthur L. Wood, Associate Professor of Sociology, is on sabbatic leave and has been awarded a Fulbright appointment to Ceylon to undertake a research project in criminology during the academic year 1956-57.

Walter I. Wardwell, Assistant Professor of Sociology, spent the summer of 1956 at the Traveler's Insurance Company under the Business Exchange Program established by the Foundation for Economic Education, Inc.

Melford E. Spiro, Associate Professor Anthropology, has completed the first year of a Social Science Research Council Faculty Research Fellowship.

University of Chicago. The Committee on Statistics offers awards for postdoctoral study in statistics by persons whose primary field is one of the physical, biological, or social sciences to which statistics can be applied. The awards range from \$3,600 to \$5,000 on the basis of an eleven month residence. Closing date for application for the academic year 1957-58 is February 15, 1957. Further

information may be obtained from the Committee on Statistics, Eckhart Hall, University of Chicago, Chicago 37, Illinois.

University of Delaware. Arnold S. Feldman, Ph.D. Northwestern University, has been appointed assistant professor of sociology. For the past three years he has been at the Social Science Research Center of the University of Puerto Rico. He has recently initiated work on a sociological analysis of economic development.

Charles Tilly, Ph.D. Harvard University, has been appointed instructor in sociology.

Robert K. Burns, Jr. has been engaged in a study of acculturation of French Alpine peasantry under a Social Science Research Council fellowship and a Cutting Travelling Fellowship.

The Dropsie College. Werner J. Cahnman has been appointed Research Associate.

University of Florida. T. Lynn Smith, professor of sociology, spent the three summer months lecturing at universities and other cultural centers in Latin America under the auspices of Educational Interchange Program of the U. S. Department of State.

University of Houston. Art Gallaher, Ph.D. University of Arizona, has been appointed Instructor in Sociology and Anthropology.

Everett D. Dyer has been promoted to Associate Professor and appointed chairman of the reorganized Department of Sociology and Anthropology.

Louisiana State University. Rudolf Heberle is on sabbatical leave in Germany during the fall semester.

Thomas D. Eliot, Professor Emeritus of Northwestern University, is serving as Visiting Professor of Sociology for the fall semester.

George K. Floro has been promoted to the Assistant Professorship. A research grant for a sociological study of administration in general hospitals has been awarded to Floro by the National Institutes of Health of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. Homer L. Hiitt, Alvin L. Bertrand, and Roland J. Pellegrin are acting as consultants for the project.

Alvin L. Bertrand has been promoted to Professor of Sociology and Rural Sociologist.

Michigan State University. The Groves Conference on Marriage and the Family will meet at East Lansing April 29-May 1, 1957. Jessie Bernard, Pennsylvania State University, will serve as Program Chairman and Irma H. Gross, Department of Home Management and Child Development, M.S.U., will be Host Chairman.

George Peabody College. H. C. Brearley has returned from a lectureship at the University of the Federal District, Rio de Janeiro, Brazil.

University of Pennsylvania. James H. S. Bossard and Eleanor S. Boll have been awarded grants from the University Committee on Research

for a study of the two child family. The grants have been supplemented by funds from the William T. Carter Foundation.

University of Pittsburgh. M. C. Elmer retired in June after thirty years as Professor and Head of the Department of Sociology.

David Henderson has been promoted to the rank of Professor and is Acting Chairman of the Department.

Saint Louis University. Allen Spitzer, Director of Anthropological Research, has been reappointed to the rank of Associate Professor of Anthropology and he has also been appointed Research Professor of Anthropology on the Faculty of Mexico City College.

Southern Methodist University. Walter T. Watson, chairman of the department, is Visiting Professor at Southern Illinois University, 1956-57, where he replaces Joseph K. Johnson, chairman, who is on sabbatical leave.

Morton B. King, Jr., formerly chairman of the Department of Sociology, University of Mississippi, is Visiting Professor for the current year.

M. LaVern Norris has returned to the department as Instructor after completing graduate study at Louisiana State University.

Bruce M. Pringle, Assistant Professor, is devoting part time to research financed by United Cerebral Palsy of Dallas County.

Syracuse University. Norman R. Roth, from the University of Maryland, has joined the faculty of the School of Social Work.

The State College of Washington. A study of the effectiveness of methods of teaching the introductory course in sociology is being conducted by Vernon Davies, John Lillywhite, James Short, and Edward Gross. The project is supported by a grant from the Fund for the Advancement of Education, in the amount of \$10,000.

The Department of Rural Sociology is making a personal interview study of the rural and urban population 65 years of age and over in Thurston County, Washington. The study was initiated by the Governor's Council on Aging Population, and is being financed by the State Department of Public Assistance. The research is under the direction of Carol Stone, Assistant Rural Sociologist.

Ivan Nye, Director of the Sociological Research Laboratory, has received a second grant from the college to continue research in parent-child relations.

James Short has received a grant from the college to continue research on reported delinquent behavior. With the expiration of his Social Science Research Council Faculty Fellowship, Short resumes full-time work in the department.

Joel B. Montague, Jr. has been granted a Sabbatical Leave, beginning February, 1957. He and his family will be located in a rural village in England, where he will continue his studies of national character and stratification, begun in London in 1950-51.

John D. Lillywhite has been granted leave to

accept an appointment on the Washington State Board of Prison Terms and Paroles.

John B. Edlefsen is serving a third year as sociologist with the ICA Technical Mission to Pakistan.

Norman A. Scotch of Northwestern University has been appointed Instructor in Anthropology. Paul Honigsheim has been reappointed Guest Lecturer in Sociology for the Fall Semester, 1956-57.

Three Graduate Assistants in the Department have accepted teaching positions: Harry Dick, Acting Instructor State College of Washington; Alfred Prince, Assistant Professor at the University of Wisconsin; Richard Ogles, Assistant Professor, Marietta College.

The College of Wooster. Atlee L. Stroup, Department Chairman, is spending the year conducting family research at the University of North Carolina.

F. James Davis is acting as Chairman this year. New members of the Department are George M. Stabler, doctoral candidate at Michigan State University, and Robert G. Doel, doctoral candidate at the University of Wisconsin.

T. Quentin Evans has taken a position at Manchester College.

University of Tokyo. With the retirement of Professor Megumi Hayashi, Kunio Odaka, Professor of Sociology, has been appointed chairman of the department. Present teaching staff consists of one professor, three assistant professors (Tadashi

Fukutake, Rokuro Hidaka, and Akira Takahashi) and two lecturers (Chikio Hayashi, Member of the Institute of Statistical Mathematics, and Takashi Koyama, Professor at Tokyo Municipal University). In addition Jun'ichi Kurokawa, Professor at the College of General Education, University of Tokyo, and Kizaemon Ariga, of Tokyo University of Education, are in charge of lectures for graduate students. Courses now being given are as follows: Professor Odaka—Principles of Sociology, Social Stratification and Social Mobility, Methods of Social Research; Professor Kurokawa—Unorganized Groups; Professor Fukutake—History of Sociology, Rural Communities in Japan, Methods of Social Research; Professor Hidaka—Intelligentsia, Mass Communication; Professor Takahashi—Public Opinion and Propaganda; Dr. Ariga—Political Organization and Village Community in Japan; Mr. Hayashi—Statistical Methods in Social Research; Mr. Koyama—Modern Family. There are at present ten graduate and about sixty undergraduate students majoring in sociology.

University of Utah. Henry H. Frost, Ph.D. University of California, Berkeley, has been appointed chairman of the department of Sociology.

Arthur L. Beeley, who has served as chairman of the department since 1927 and as dean of the Graduate School of Social Work, has retired.

Wilmington College. Nathan Lewis Gerrard, formerly of the University of Miami, has been appointed chairman of the newly created Department of Sociology.

BOOK REVIEWS



Community Life and Social Policy. Selected papers by LOUIS WIRTH. Edited by ELIZABETH WIRTH MARVICK and ALBERT J. REISS, JR. Foreword by HERBERT BLUMER. Introduction by PHILIP M. HAUSER. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1956. xiv, 431 pp. \$6.00.

Somewhere in the recent literature it is written that the day of the system-builder in sociology is over. Yet this is true only in the sense that the builder of the "personal" system is no more. The task of testing, broadening, and deepening the theoretical tradition we have inherited goes on, not in isolation from research but in interactive relationship with it. Those who work at this task are frequently criticized, yet they continue to be the source of major research hypotheses and of modes of comprehending the practical social world about us. So it was and is with Louis Wirth.

Wirth was the inheritor of a great tradition in sociology, the Chicago tradition, which shaped immediately several generations of sociologists and at one remove almost all professional sociologists in the United States. The focus of interest of this tradition was the city; the frame of reference, a dual one of biological community and morally ordered society; and the object of moral concern, the uprooted. The essays collected in this volume show clearly that Wirth used the tradition in all its aspects and in so doing added to it.

Part III of the volume is made up primarily of articles devoted to the problems of minority groups. The content of these articles may strike the reader who comes to them for the first time as containing little that is new in the specialized area of minority groups and race relations. This can only reflect the dominance of the Chicago tradition in this area, and in particular the contribution made to it by Wirth in his articles and in his classic, *The Ghetto*.

Wirth's practical and moral concerns constantly deepened and we find in Part IV essays concerned with planning and with the problem of peace. These for the most part are directed toward a lay audience, and are of interest to us as they show the scientist who is not afraid of suggesting policy attempting to break through the walls of ignorance and inertia. "Chicago: Where Now?" is a prime example.

But for sociologists Wirth's greatest contributions, whether he wanted them to be or not, are the ways in which he deepened the theoretical aspects of the tradition which he inherited. His great and enduring scientific concern, and perhaps his moral concern also, was with the problem of the city and consensus. To Wirth, as to other students of Park, the city was an object of devotion and yet of fear. The achievements of city civilization were tremendous: the freeing of man from the dead hand of tradition, the growth of rationality, and the recognition of the individual. Yet these all are threatened by the very conditions which make them possible. Population size, density, and heterogeneity and the process of competition are the creators of the city; they may also destroy it. As one rereads "Urbanism as a Way of Life," the classic statement of the consequences of the growth and mixing of population, the fragility of the city way is delineated for all time.

Yet Wirth knew that the city cannot endure without a moral order and a moral consensus. If the older mode of consensus is broken down by the demographic features of urban life, then a new consensus must be established. In what was perhaps the best work of his life, "Consensus and Mass Communication," read as his Presidential Address to the American Sociological Society in 1947, Wirth finally came to full engagement with this problem. How in a society made up of large, impersonal organized groups and of isolated mass individuals is it possible to create the conditions of collective action and solidarity? In a society as empty of consensus as Wirth believes modern society to be, and where the size, density, and heterogeneity of the population militate against the primary group conditions of a new consensus, what are the prospects? The mass media of communication are more likely the tools of a totalitarian consensus than of a shared democratic consensus. And, as Blumer suggests in his foreword, consensus brought about by the typical urban device of propagandizing ideologies "could be at best only temporary and only segmental." Thus, Blumer continues, "Wirth sought to describe the new form of consensus arising from the indigenous nature of a mass society—a type of consensus which would peculiarly and almost paradoxically allow for complex diversity and incessant change in norms, values,

and interests. This new form of consensus, Wirth saw, would necessarily have to be a consensus of means and not of ends."

One must ask several questions of this conclusion. Is a consensus of means possible without a consensus of at least a few ultimate ends? Does not Wirth himself in his devotion to rationality, freedom, and the individual actually set the ultimate ends in terms of which a flexible consensus of means is possible? And are not these ends much more widely and deeply shared than Wirth's picture of the lack of consensus in the city would indicate?

American society has always been a going concern, and although the growth of cities and the influx of immigrants have created problems for consensus through the creation of heterogeneity, there has been a continuing tradition internalized in the minds of substantial segments of the citizenry and objectified in the structure of institutions. It can even be argued that the elements of this consensus have done as much to shape the character of the modern city as have the elements of population size, density, and heterogeneity. If all this be true then we have a larger reserve of consensus than Wirth thought, and a basis on which to build. The problem, however, remains, in that the conditions of urban life threaten the continuation of this reserve. It is, perhaps, even deepened in that elements of the consensus, such as a purely rationalistic individualism, may create the conditions which are destroying consensus.

In any event we can best pay tribute to Louis Wirth by continuing what he carried on as part of his inheritance: the search for the conditions of consensus and a genuinely social life. If the search requires change and modification in the ideas we have inherited from him, this too is part of the tradition by which he lived and did his work.

WILLIAM L. KOLB

Tulane University

Work and Authority in Industry. Ideologies of Management in the Course of Industrialization. By REINHARD BENDIX. New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc.; London: Chapman and Hall, Limited, 1956, xxv, 466 pp. \$7.50.

In this volume, Bendix makes a major contribution to sociology in two of its fields which need such a contribution most—the sociology of knowledge and the sociology of work relations. He deals with "ideologies of management which seek to justify the subordination of large masses of men to the discipline of factory work and to the authority of employers," an inquiry

whose significance is related to the fact that subordination, while admitted but treated obliquely by Western management, has been claimed by Soviet leaders not really to exist in Soviet industry. This claim becomes a major substantive focus as Bendix seeks "to interpret the differences of fact and ideology between a totalitarian and a nontotalitarian form of subordination in economic enterprises."

To achieve these objectives, he casts his data in a longitudinal-cross sectional research framework whose scope leaves one gasping. He first compares England in the early industrialization period (up to Samuel Smiles and W. R. Greg toward the late 19th century) with Tsarist Russia in the 18th and 19th centuries (up to the immediate post-Bolshevik period). Then he shifts to a comparison of the United States in the modern period (from the last quarter of the 19th century up to General Motors, 1947) with present-day East Germany. This far-reaching analysis leads to two (in my opinion) central conclusions: From the time analysis—The great change in the social structure of industry—bureaucratization—leads to a shift in ideologies in the West from idealization of the individualistic entrepreneur who deserves to rule by virtue of success, to an emphasis on cooperation and social skills adapted to the hopes of managers within large enterprises. From the crossnational comparisons—The great accomplishment of Western industry (at home, that is) has been to give workers a legitimate place in the social order by making the ideologies of management applicable to them. If the man at the top was there not by virtue of who he was but rather of what he had done, and if his accomplishments were a reflection of teachable skills, then others might hope to rise by doing likewise. In 18th and 19th century Russia and present-day East Germany, the experience has been wholly different. The Tsars held a monopoly of authority over *both* managers (whether aristocracy, middle-class entrepreneurs, or state officials) and employees (whether serfs, professional workers, or freemen). The authority of managers was held to be subject to the Tsar's pleasure, and employees were therefore to regard the *Tsar* and not the manager as the ultimate authority. Consequently, their subordination was justified by their political subservience to the Tsar, who was symbolic of the people themselves. In East Germany, the imposition on industry of a double bureaucracy (one line representing state industrial planning, the other representing the SED (Communist) party) leads to a justification of subordination by an insistence that, since the party represents

the workers' interests, the worker is subordinate to no manager (for the latter is also subject to the party) but to the community. The worker should give all, therefore, not because he hopes to be a manager someday, but because the community (namely, himself) needs his best efforts. Actually, the party maintains rigid control over both workers and its own members.

In process of reaching these conclusions, Bendix contributes to the sociology of work relations not only new data (particularly a good deal of the material on East Germany) but a new kind of data. His conclusions on industry are based not on interviews, not on questionnaires, not on behavioral observation, but on ideas as expressed by leading spokesmen or in written documents. Of course historians and political scientists have been using such data for hundreds of years. But sociologists in America, with their penchant for direct contact with subjects, and especially students of human relations in industry with their interest in what is "really" going on inside the shop, are likely to be pulled up short when they discover Bendix quoting from such management manuals as "Working With General Motors" or "Man to Man on the Job." The striking thing is Bendix' demonstration of how such materials can provide reliable data.

Since Bendix clearly sees his work as empirical, and, given his research design, as an attempt, in a general way, to test hypotheses or at least derive conclusions, it is worth while asking how far he succeeds. This is not an easy question to answer for, though concerned with ideologies, he does not offer a clear, consistent theory of ideologies from which to view the data. He uses the term "ideologies" itself broadly—now in the polemical Marxian sense, now in Mannheim's sense of "particular" ideologies, now in Blumer's sense of a body of beliefs, hopes, justification, and criticism, and, sometimes, simply to refer to ideas. But this is a minor, terminological matter. More important is how he grapples with the problem of the relation between ideas and other things—in Mannheim's phrase, the existential determination of knowledge. He seems to follow Scheler, Durkheim, and Mannheim in seeing not one, but a variety of *Realfactoren*, but he does not develop a consistent way of handling the variety on the model, say, of Scheler's "law of three phases," Durkheim's emphasis on ceremony, ritual and group interaction changes, or Mannheim's contrast between stable and socially uprooted groups. Bendix does adopt a position that ideas are affected by the previous stock of ideas, and

thus, to some extent, have a life of their own. Some of the best passages are those wherein he shows how American business leaders were driven, almost unawares, into positions involving important shifts in their thinking. Yet in the Preface, Bendix seems to feel that he does not need to worry too much about the problem for, since management ideas will more or less reveal "the promptings of self interest," therefore he can "examine the interrelations between ideas and actions under conditions where these interrelations are more or less apparent rather than a matter of inference." But, and I know Bendix is aware of this, even self interest is not enough to explain the emergence of ideas or the forms they take, for, as even Engels recognized, there is no one-to-one correspondence between the substructure and superstructure, people may adopt ideas opposed to their interests, or, as Bendix himself points out, may eschew ideas altogether but be forced into an idea-position by their actions. By and large, Bendix seems implicitly to take a position somewhat resembling Marx' notion that ideas will come forth when needed, somewhat resembling Durkheim's conception of ideas as "reflecting" social structure, and somewhat resembling Mannheim's not-very-clear position of seeing between ideas and the existential base a "*harmonie entre deux elements*," in Maquet's phrase. Bendix does not ignore the problem of theory but tends to bring in his ideas in the form of occasional (and usually brilliant and insightful) comments, as on pp. 88-89 and 341 ff. Yet the lack of explicit treatment leads him sometimes to uncertain causal attribution positions. Thus, he shows with sparkling clarity the shift in U. S. managerial ideas (from the pre-World War I period to the 1920's and 1930's) from emphasis on individualism to emphasis on social or coordination virtues. This shift he then *attributes* to increased bureaucratization. But this does not necessarily follow. The shift could equally have been due to reaction to the labor union struggle and the need for bargaining and diplomatic skills, the need for a favorable public opinion in view of the growth of large-scale semi-monopolistic enterprises, the limits imposed on the free-swinging entrepreneur by the government, the effects of the great depression, and many other possible factors. Bendix does not explicitly ignore these factors but possibilities other than bureaucratization tend to be treated parenthetically.

But what I have said does not constitute a serious reservation, nor does it detract from the total impact of the book. The wealth of new

materials, the comparative framework, the implications for the East-West struggle for power, the very great lucidity with which Bendix writes about complex materials, and, not least, the detached, highly scholarly attitude he brings to his work, combine to make this into a sociological research of the first rank.

EDWARD GROSS

The State College of Washington

Energy and Society: The Relation Between Energy, Social Change, and Economic Development. By FRED COTTRELL. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1955. xix, 330 pp. \$6.00.

This interesting book about a subject of great contemporary interest does not fall readily into any of the categories usually employed for the classification of books of especial interest to students of sociology. For this reason, therefore, it is not amiss to indicate in some detail the contents of the volume under review. There are a dozen chapters, the first having to do with the nature and characteristics of energy, and the second, with organic energy and low-energy societies. Two chapters then are given to the sources of energy in use before the 19th century, wind and river and sea and ocean; and these are followed by a chapter dealing with steam, the key to the industrial revolution, and with energy sources and forms increasingly employed in recent decades (i.e., petroleum, nuclear fuel, hydroelectric power, electricity, and fuels for the internal combustion engine). There follow chapters concerned with population and other historical factors affecting the transition of societies from a state in which energy output and consumption are very low to one in which they are high, and with the industrialization of agriculture and the nature of its transformation as energy output and use rise. The titles of the next chapters are essentially self-explanatory: "Capitalism in theory and in fact"; "The organization of productive effort"; "The distribution of consumers' goods"; and "The enlargement and concentration of political power." In a concluding chapter, entitled "Not one world, but many," it is anticipated that in the short-run three "fairly well defined systems using high-energy technology" will develop, one in North America, one in Russia, and one in Europe, centering in England and Germany, with any two forming a combination that exceeds the third in strength and power; and that even in the longer run there is little likelihood that any one of these

three could become ascendant over the other two.

The author reviews the degree to which various inventions and improvements have increased the amount of energy at the disposal of those utilizing these improvements. He shows, for example, that for a long time the sea-going vessel provided a larger surplus of energy per head to its crew than did any land-based instrument to its users. At the same time he traces the interrelation between the development of sea-going vessels and the development of the business and social practices of the users of these vessels. He also traces the response of the economic structure to changes in the principal source of energy (sail, steam, petroleum). Some attention is given to changes in the conception of private property and to the depersonalization of the individual accompanying the supersession of low-energy by high-energy societies. Arguments for social control, made necessary by the rise of high-energy systems, are treated in chapter 10; in the chapter that follows some of the energy-oriented conditions giving rise to the expansion of state functions are considered. In general, the author is concerned with changes that take place in the social superstructure in consequence of the passage of society from a low-energy to a high-energy foundation of societal life.

A number of points made by the author appear to be open to qualification or question. It is suggested (p. 143) that hand methods provide the largest yield per acre; but it is not indicated that such a result is possible, as a rule, only in a social context based on an overall energy surplus. Should it be implied (p. 161) that the agricultural population might be reduced to zero? The fraction one/ninth seems a bit low as an indicator of the proportion of the calories consumed by livestock that is made available for human consumption (p. 163). Is it valid to assume that a change in the values of certain small elites is all that is necessary to secure capital formation (p. 181)? Is not the role of Protestantism as the generator of capitalism exaggerated (pp. 185-86)? Should not Holland have been used as an example in the section beginning at p. 190? It may be true that use of high-energy converters makes for bigness of producing units, but certainly not for massive structures of the General Motors type (pp. 206-07); more than energy conversion is here involved. The importance as well as the irreplaceability of the price system might have been stressed more in chapter 10.

JOSEPH J. SPENGLER

Duke University

Personal Influence: The Part Played by People in the Flow of Mass Communications. By ELIHU KATZ and PAUL F. LAZARSFELD. Foreword by ELMO ROEPER. Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1955. xx, 400 pp. \$6.00.

It is a thing of beauty to see research design and analysis that is a direct outgrowth of an explicitly laid out theoretical position. The esthetic response to the Katz and Lazarsfeld report is mixed. Part One, the theoretical position, is quite explicit. Part Two, the empirical research, does not match the expectations of beauty aroused in Part One. Perhaps a clue to this disappointment lies in the fact that listed in the bibliography is an unpublished document of the Bureau of Applied Social Research bearing precisely the same title as Part One and dated 1953; the data were collected in 1945.

The theoretical essay is without question the most lucid and sophisticated discussion of the mass communication process that has appeared to date. This process is delineated in terms of those factors which "intervene" between media and mass to modify the anticipated responses of the latter. The focus of *detailed* attention is interpersonal relations, one of these "intervening" factors which, it is rightly contended, has been largely ignored in mass media research. What happens within small, intimate groups is held to be crucial for mass media effectiveness because (1) such groups serve as anchorage points for ostensibly individual opinions, attitudes, habits, decisions, etc., and (2) the networks of communication within these groups serve as channels of transmission for the mass media. The basic hypothesis postulates a two-step flow of influence. Communication flows from the mass media to some people who are relatively more exposed to these media, and they in turn pass on what they see, hear, or read to others with whom they are in contact and who are less exposed.

These notions of mass communication suggest "a convergence of two fields of social science research—the one dealing with macroscopic mass communications, the other with microscopic social relations" (p. 25). And the authors proceed, in an exposition which is a model of clarity and system, to develop the significance and relevance of propositions derived from small groups research.

The major methodological conclusion, with which few sociologists would take issue, is that "no longer can mass media research be content with a random sample of disconnected individuals as respondents. Respondents must be studied within the context of the group or

groups to which they belong or which they have 'in mind' . . ." (p. 131).

A cross-section of 800 women in Decatur, Illinois were interviewed twice about decision-making in four areas of common activity—household marketing, fashion, movies, and local public affairs. Follow-up interviews were conducted with persons who were designated as either influential or influenced in a recent decision. Thus the opinion leader is defined in terms of a *specific incident* in which influence has been reported by one party to the transaction. (On the whole there seems to have been a rather high degree of confirmation of the transactions in the follow-up interviews, except in the public affairs arena. It should be noted, however, that the tabulations throughout the book include unconfirmed incidents.)

The most general findings are: (1) personal contact tends to be more frequent and more effective in specific influencing incidents, (2) leadership tends to be specific to a given arena, and (3) "horizontal opinion leadership" is considerably more common than leadership which crosses from one social stratum to another. There are some differences between the leaders in the four arenas in terms of life-cycle position, social and economic position, and gregariousness; but these differences are not striking. Only in the public affairs arena does social status seem to be important. Life-cycle position seems to be the most important across-the-board factor. "The picture that emerges . . . is one of concentrations of opinion leaders who can be located in varying densities in each of the different life-cycle types, in almost equal densities on every status level, and generally among the more gregarious people in these groups." (p. 325) Furthermore, these "objective" determinants do not disappear when interest is controlled.

In terms of Part One, a very important part of the Decatur study would seem to be the test of the hypothesis that mass communications are relayed according to the two-step formula. The evidence provided by the Decatur analysis is that opinion leaders tend to be more generally exposed to the mass media. Though the authors state at one point (p. 317) that the two-step flow hypothesis claims nothing more, such a view is contrary to their development in Part One (p. 32 ff.) and their discussion only a few pages earlier (p. 309). It seems obvious even from the phrase "two-step flow" that exposure is not enough; rather it is exposure plus passing on from the mass media. And there is nothing in the Decatur findings which indicates the relay function, much less in what

form the original communication gets through. Perhaps the most distorted notion that emerges from the Decatur research is that somehow the mass media message comes through the opinion leader to the influencee in all its pristine purity.

There is in fact no indication that the Decatur opinion leaders use information from the mass media any more than do the non-leaders; for these leaders also report greater personal influence in decision-making. It may well be that a key role *within* the informal group has been identified but not necessarily a key role linking the group with the mass media.

The Decatur report left me with an uneasy feeling about two general matters. (1) The acting person seems to have got lost in the decision-making. An *outside* influence—another person or the mass media—is always the most important factor. I am prompted to predict that, now that Katz and Lazarsfeld have “rediscovered the primary group” in mass communications, the next episode of “rediscovery” will involve personality and the self. It can only be a matter of time and serendipity before this crucial “intervening” variable will be explored. (2) The authors seem to take entirely too casual an attitude toward the actual values of their data, e.g., a given percentage difference in one instance is considered large enough to merit special comment but is in another instance (with no change in N's) considered insignificant.

The Decatur study notwithstanding, this volume is an outstanding theoretical contribution to the study of mass communication.

DAVID GOLD

State University of Iowa

Manifest Structure Analysis. Montana State University Studies, Volume Three. by FRANK M. DU MAS. Missoula, Montana: Montana State University Press, 1955. ix, 193 pp. No price indicated.

The author of this volume, a psychologist, feels that the possibility of utilizing qualitative information to predict a quantitative variable has been neglected (Chapters 1-3). In response to this neglect, he has assembled a “new scale theory” which consists of three ways in which attributes may be related to a variable quantity. Although his charge of neglect may be true, his claim for a “new scale theory” is, if not false, something of an exaggeration. Persons familiar with correlational analysis, particularly as expounded by Yule and Kendall, and Guttman, will observe immediately the correspondence between du Mas' models and certain types of statistical association.

(1) The segmental model (Chapters 6 and 7) requires that a given attribute be associated with a given quantity and conversely that a given quantity be linked with only one attribute. In other words, it calls for two-way association. Its conditions would be fulfilled, for example, if every man weighed exactly 200 pounds and every woman 100 pounds, for then it would be possible to give everyone's weight from knowledge of their sex.

(2) The intensive model (Chapters 8 and 9) is less restrictive than the segmental, since it permits a given quantity to be predicted from a combination of attributes. However, combinations must be cumulative in that every larger combination must include the elements of every smaller. This model then requires that the joint frequency distribution between a set of attributes and a variable be triangular. It is identical with Guttman's perfect scale. It would be realized, for instance, if all persons who were short, fat, and blond had an IQ of 150, all persons who were short and fat but not blond had an IQ of 100, and all persons who were short but not fat and blond had an IQ of 50. Given these circumstances, from a short, fat, blond individual, it would be possible to predict with no error an IQ of 150, and so on.

(3) The clustery model (Chapters 10 and 11) is least limiting in that any combination of attributes, whether cumulative or not, may be used to predict the variable. It fits whenever certain combinations, however composed, are uniquely associated with certain intervals along the continuum. Although the clustery model is regarded by the author as general and the other two as special, it would be possible to view the segmental as general, since any combination of attributes may be reduced to a single attribute. This point of view is implicit in the author's suggestion that combinations be numerically weighted so that the resulting scores be perfectly related to the outside variable.

Manifest structure analysis, as the name suggests, falls into the same field of endeavor as scale analysis and latent structure analysis. It differs from scale analysis in that the variable is not derived from the distribution of attributes, and in that it predicts from attributes to the variable, rather than the reverse (as in scale analysis). It resembles latent structure analysis in that it presumes to handle patterns which in their original form are neither perfectly linear nor triangular; it differs in that it hypothesizes no latent factors to account for the manifest relations. It most nearly resembles a multiple regression technique in which a team

of attributes are used to estimate a variable quantity.

There is nothing in the writing to indicate that the author sees manifest structure analysis as being tied to a particular theoretical orientation or field of research. Apparently, its use, as is true of all statistical routines, would depend on the nature of the problem and the nature of the data. In view of its generality, any researcher, including sociologists, who for one reason or another have occasion to examine the connection between a variable and a set of attributes, would probably secure some benefits, direct or fringe, from a reading of this monograph.

KARL F. SCHUESSLER

Indiana University

Sociological Theory: Present-Day Sociology from the Past. Edited by EDGAR F. BORGATTA AND HENRY J. MEYER. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1956. xvii, 547, iv pp. \$6.75.

The editors of this book recognize that there is no substitute for reading the books of the great figures in sociological theory. But, for students prevented by inadequate facilities or by mental laziness, they have provided a highly valuable compendium of selections of major significance culled from works published over the period extending from the latter part of the 19th century to the 1930's.

Some 25 writers are drawn upon, with such seminal theorists as Baldwin, Cooley, Simmel and Durkheim receiving especially full representation. The editors' stress, as emphasized in the sub-title, is upon the continuing relevance of these formulations to current theory and research, and one suspects that they share the belief of those of us who feel that current theory is still largely living upon the intellectual capital amassed by these pioneer thinkers.

That the editors should find it necessary to defend and explain the importance of knowing the ideas of the major theorists of the past, implies a severe indictment of the education of contemporary students. Thus: "We may easily overestimate how much of the knowledge we have about social behavior has been discovered within our own generation. . . . Some of the selections are . . . dated. . . . But . . . some are unsurpassed today."

The selections have been assembled under six classifications: Knowledge of Society, The Person as a Social Unit, Social Forms and Processes, Societal Structures, The Persistence of Societal Structures, Social Change.

In presenting the selections the editors have freely deleted passages and conjoined originally

separated material to increase unity and cohesion, a procedure entirely justifiable, although their refusal to indicate such editing by dots or asterisks is highly questionable.

The wisdom of excluding all methodological writing may also be questioned in view of the incisive statements of basic theoretical positions often contained therein, as in Durkheim's *Les Regles*.

The objectives of this book rightly dictated the exclusion of writers of only historical relevance to social theory, as Giddings and Ward. But the inclusion of Sumner in this category will raise some eyebrows, especially at a time when our country is convulsed by a gigantic experiment to determine the relative validity of Sumner's conception of the mores and Myrdal's criticism of that concept, with Sumner, at latest reports, well holding his own.

There are, however, minor questionings concerning an important collection of basic ideas that retain their relevance, freshness and creative stimulation for contemporary sociology. When the editors assert—"The availability of developed tools of research, of statistics and 'gadgets,' makes possible the rigor of technique, but these cannot be substituted for intelligent and imaginative thinking"—anyone genuinely concerned with social theory can only add a hearty "Amen."

ADOLPH S. TOMARS

The City College of New York

The State of the Social Sciences. Papers presented at the 25th Anniversary of the Social Science Research Building, The University of Chicago, November 10-12, 1955. Edited by LEONARD D. WHITE. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1956. xiv, 504 pp. \$6.00.

Thirty learned papers, prefaced by an appreciative welcoming address from Dean Chauncey Harris, celebrate a quarter of a century of activity in the Social Science Building at Chicago. The papers vary from the presentation of research, assessment of progress, celebration of the past, to damning criticisms of the efforts to be scientific. The participants include all the social sciences and some outsiders from the humanities, from administrators, and from non-academic publicists.

The contents are not limited to Chicago activity. One of the richest papers is the report by Bales of some studies on "Task Status and Likeability as a Function of Talking and Listening in Decision-making Groups." Under the special conditions of the type of small groups laboratory with which he has been working,

Bales shows that although a member who talks up a good deal tends to lose some popularity, this is not so if he also is a good listener and draws enough remarks toward himself. Like all of this research, the discovery is simple but the process appealing in its neatness.

An interesting review of the evolution of psychoanalytic theory in the twenty-five years is contributed by Lasswell, who has been a considerable force in influencing the changes. The drift appears to be a revision away from the biological and cultural provincialism of Freud, and toward the views that prevail in sociology and social psychology. Lasswell seems to view the changes as largely internal, and a result of the "self-correcting" properties of the psychoanalytic method, and understandably gives less emphasis on the role of scientific method in general and criticism from neighboring fields than heretics would do.

Some general reviews are presented in papers by Hauser, Hughes, and Berelson, on ecological research, cultural aspects of urban research, and public opinion research. New directions are presented in a paper on "Models: Their Uses and Limitations," by Herbert Simon and Allen Newell, and one on "Toward a General Theory for the Behavioral Sciences," by James G. Miller. In this latter paper a reader can find a comprehensible introduction to such futuristic lingo as "boundary maintaining systems," "negative feedback mechanisms," "coded inputs" and "equifinality." A sample of nineteen propositions is offered to illustrate the kind of general theory of systems which Miller and his colleagues are attempting to build, and in time verify. Proposition 6 reads, "When variables in a system return to equilibrium after stress, the rate of return and the strength of the restorative forces are stronger than a linear function of the amount of displacement from the equilibrium point."

A research paper on "Psychological Needs as a Function of Social Environments," by Murray Horwitz, contains ingenious reasoning from clever experimentation. The results help to free motivation theory from the disguised instinctivism that persists in so much of contemporary theory.

The contributions from anthropology, especially the papers of Kluckhohn and Murdock on values research and on political moieties, are useful samples of their contemporary activities. Glimpses of the styles of contemporary economic and political thought, and of the marginal and outcaste positions of history and the humanities are also adequately represented.

Defects of the social sciences are not over-

looked. Frank Knight refuses to cheer for science; David Riesman makes an unsettling clinical survey of the less rational ways of the academic scholar, and Chancellor Kimpton throws some hard, but not unfair punches—such as, "There are too many people who enter the field with a ready-made conclusion, obtained from their local household gods rather than their laboratories, and proceed to gather facts and footnotes to substantiate it."

The book is well worth the price.

ROBERT E. L. FARIS

University of Washington

Criminology. By ROBERT G. CALDWELL. New York: The Roland Press Company, 1956. x, 749 pp. \$6.50.

This book attempts to present an interdisciplinary approach to criminology. As the author states, "Criminal behavior, therefore, like all human behavior can be studied through the cooperation of many disciplines, each using its own concepts and specialized techniques. This, unfortunately, seems to have escaped the understanding of some students of the problem who have come to look upon criminology as exclusively within the province of this or that speciality." (24) Although it has more of an interdisciplinary approach than many textbooks, crime is basically explained through a sociological frame of reference involving the discussion and application of sociological concepts and processes to criminal behavior. "While stating that delinquency and crime are not inherited, an interdisciplinary approach to human and criminal behavior, however, hardly call for unsupported statements that 'Heredity is a factor in criminal behavior, — and an important one — just as it is a factor in all human behavior' or that heredity may make a person's 'social adjustment exceedingly difficult.'" (196)

Excellent features of this book are detailed discussions of criminological research methods, the development of criminology and the nature of a crime. He distinguishes between crime as a legal and a social or sociological problem. As a legal problem interest is in "the crime rather than the criminal, the individual rather than the group, the rational rather than the non-rational, the entity of the law rather than its cultural relationship, and the static rather than the dynamic." (135) The sociologist's approach being broader does not mean that the legal aspects of crime are unimportant in criminology.

Although impressed with the excellent and needed discussion of the criminal law, the reviewer cannot agree with Caldwell's position that white collar crime should not be considered

a crime unless it is a violation of the criminal law. The author feels that the method of conviction under the criminal law is particularly important and that "no person is a white collar criminal or any kind of criminal unless he has been properly adjudicated as such in the criminal courts." (68) It is unnecessary to repeat here the many arguments that have been made against such a restricted and narrow definition of a "crime." He weakens his own case by reiterating that there is nothing natural or universal about the criminal law. Writing about the causes of crime he states that "despite years of study and research and the publication of tons of literature, efforts to increase this knowledge have not been very fruitful." (159) To the reviewer part of the reason for this is that the criminal law is too arbitrary and unstable a set of norms upon which to build a science. Studies of all violations of legal norms would be an improvement; studies of violations of norms, legal and non-legal would be even more satisfactory.

To bring white collar crime within criminology Caldwell would improve the criminal law, make it stricter and unbiased. How this would be accomplished is not clear. The author's frequent statement that a social scientist as such has no value judgments seems weak when efforts are made to confine the study of criminals to those violators of a certain social class, occupation and level of education.

Following an increasing trend in criminology, Caldwell discusses several types of criminal behavior. He recognizes, however, that the term "criminal" applies to such a heterogeneous group that it is difficult to develop a detailed classification which is mutually exclusive. He feels that at this time the classification of criminals into some homogeneous subgroups, however, does provide deeper insights and a more systematic basis for further research.

The book contains an excellent critical comparison of the differential association and psychoanalytic theories of criminal behavior. While recognizing that differential association has much merit as a theoretical system, he points out correctly that all criminal behavior cannot be explained by it and that, as stated, it oversimplifies the process of learning. Psychoanalytic theory is criticized in the strongest and most complete terms in any criminology text and in a logical and unemotional way. This lengthy discussion should help to immunize many criminology students who later drift into social or other correctional work from succumbing to the blandishments of the pseudo-science of psychoanalysis.

The chapters on correction are of a high order. While they cover the usual topics found in a textbook of this type, there is a unique chapter written by a life term prisoner in prison on "Prison Shocks."

MARSHALL B. CLINARD

University of Wisconsin

The American Social System: Social Control, Personal Choice, and Public Decision. By STUART A. QUEEN, WILLIAM N. CHAMBERS, and CHARLES M. WINSTON. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1956. xii, 494 pp. \$5.75.

This volume is one of several recently published textbooks designed for use in courses on contemporary American society. The latter are increasingly taught by representatives of various disciplines who collaborate, in their instruction and sometimes as authors, in an effort to "unify" or "integrate" or "cross-fertilize" materials drawn from traditionally separate fields so that the student or reader develops an understanding of how different institutional systems, social structures, cultural patterns and values, and other phases of American life together form a *system*. Occasionally the published efforts are successful but more frequently the goal of integration is missed—as it is, I believe, in *The American Social System*.

Integration is sought in this instance by pursuing the interrelated themes of social control, personal choice, and public decision. (A revealing study could be made of themes currently employed in interdisciplinary courses.) Moreover, a "conceptual scheme" is sketched in Chapter 2 in which group, interaction, society, culture, social system, social control, choice and decision are defined and presented as essential to the subsequent discussion. Both themes and basic conceptual tools, however, are given rather short shrift in the fifteen chapters that comprise the bulk of the book.

This neglect is least apparent in (primarily, Queen's) chapters on the family, education, religion, stratification, collective phenomena, and the "web of social control" in which these subjects receive able but skimpy treatment; here some comparative materials are introduced, especially brief glimpses into Soviet Russia and the Hopi. Both the cross-cultural gesture and central themes are largely forsaken in (Winston's) chapters on occupations, consumption, the price system, national income, and economy and government in favor of logical models and Keynesian theory; these tightly packed chapters are guided by the *discipline* of the author, an important reason no doubt why they constitute

an incomplete but sound little textbook. Similarly, (Chambers') chapters on political roles, governmental structure, constitutionalism, and party politics are informative summaries of these "political science" topics in which the author, in keeping with the conventions of his discipline, colors the exposition with historical jaunts and references to famous political philosophers; he also exploits effectively contributions of such diverse contemporary writers as Lasswell, MacIver, Laski, De Grazia, D. Truman, Key, and Lubell. The sections on economic and governmental matters are solid though necessarily condensed introductions to these subjects. But the avowedly integrating themes are unevenly and thinly employed.

This comment does not apply to the final three chapters. The first of these (Queen's) is an adequate treatment of the "internalization of social controls": socialization mechanisms are depicted with the help of Cooley, Mead, and Freud; and deviant behavior is briefly touched upon with the handicap of a questionable typology. The penultimate chapter (Chambers') on "values, choices, and social control" is based largely upon work of the Lynds, Myrdal, Williams, Stouffer, and Riesman, providing a provocative and, of course, inconclusive discussion that probably should lead, not trail, the rest of the book. This observation surely applies to (Winston's) excellent concluding chapter on the nature, problems, and methods of social science.

Deliberately "cross-sectional" and avoiding questions of change, this volume presents an overly static view of American society—a portrayal not uncommon in current textbooks. Purposely stressing description at the expense of analysis, its intellectual challenge for serious students seems slight. Carefully non-controversial, it will provoke no legitimate or self-styled authorities. But lucidly written, marked by painstaking (present-day) textbook craftsmanship, and "digestible," it may be widely used.

CHARLES H. PAGE

Smith College

The American Community. By BLAINE E. MERCER. New York: Random House, 1956. xv, 304 pp. \$3.75.

This volume is written not only for college classes but also for laymen who wish to explore problems of community life independently. The author undertakes a not entirely successful effort to present his material in a theoretically integrated framework. The structural-func-

tional approach as modified by Merton, is adopted for this purpose.

This approach finds initial application in a chapter on "Community Structure" of primarily ecological content. It is somewhat more substantial than its companion chapter on "Community Functions" which endeavors to show what the community contributes to its citizens and to the larger society. The next two chapters on "Community Culture" are among the more competently written portions of this book. The discussion proceeds from an elementary treatment of culture, cultural inconsistencies, and American culture patterns to considerations of cultural and social change. The following, highly eclectic chapter on personality formation seems to have little relevance for a book on "The American Community."

The remainder of the book deals, in the main, with social status, social processes, and institutions. The chapter on social status suffers from weak co-ordination, aggravated by the author's failure to make effective use of the conceptual scheme which he adopts from Gerth and Mills. The chapter on social processes deals particularly with co-operation and conflict. Perhaps its most distinctive feature is the extensive use of case histories whose illustrative significance is largely left to the judgement of the reader.

Institutions are discussed in four chapters, covering the Family, Education, Religion, Government, and Economy. Although the concept of "institution" is given a Parsonian normative definition, this approach does not seem to have guided the presentation of details. An effort at coherence is made, however, by following Parsons' distinction among situational, instrumental, and integrative aspects of institutions. The author is at his best in applying the "instrumental" category, while his treatment of "situational" aspects has the least to offer. The scheme is abandoned in the survey of governmental and economic institutions, which does not rise beyond an elementary introduction to some aspects of political science and economics. The author concludes with a discussion of social planning and social trends.

On the whole the book impresses one with a wealth of quotations and citations from many writers, ranging from the constructive ideas of some to the commonplace opinions of others. To his account of these views the author has made only occasional additions of significance. Although intended as a study of the community, its community orientation is not stronger than that of a text offering a general

introduction to sociology. Even if it were used for this purpose, however, the value of the book would remain limited.

WERNER S. LANDECKER

University of Michigan

The Give and Take in Hospitals: A Study of Human Organization in Hospitals. By TEMPLE BURLING, EDITH M. LENTZ, and ROBERT N. WILSON. Foreword by GEORGE BUGBEE. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1956. xxv, 355 pp. \$4.75.

Hunterdon Medical Center: The Story of One Approach to Rural Medical Care. By RAY E. TRUSSELL. Cambridge: Harvard University Press for the Commonwealth Fund, 1956. xxiii, 236 pp. \$3.75.

The Rochester Regional Hospital Council. By LEONARD S. ROSENFELD and HENRY B. MAK-OVER. Cambridge: Harvard University Press for the Commonwealth Fund, 1956. xii, 204 pp. \$3.50.

The publication of *The Give and Take in Hospitals* may well be a landmark in the fast developing sphere of mutual interest between medicine and the behavioral sciences. It provides in clear, well organized, scholarly yet readable fashion numerous excellent examples of how the methods, concepts and insights of the social scientist can contribute to a clear understanding of some important phenomena in medicine. This is a book which the sociologist should have no hesitation in sharing with his medical colleagues. To those who have rejected earlier sociological writings in this area as "obscure," this book, which is rich in both application and documentation of theory, will "make sense." Sociologists, regardless of whether they are particularly interested in medicine, will value this source of case material relating to human organization and interaction. The book is influenced by and does credit to the thinking of Weber, Merton, Parsons and Hughes. By providing an effective medium of communication, the present authors have enhanced the value of the theory on which they draw.

The book is based on studies conducted at six hospitals of different types. It provides a brief general commentary on the history of the hospital, its place in the community and the function it performs for patient and family. Theory of power structure is applied to an analysis of the roles of trustees, administrators and members of the medical staff. A chapter on the nursing profession provides several useful in-

sights on the impact of change and the inevitable conflict between generations whose training for a nominally similar role has involved striking differences in expectations, techniques and actual patterns of activity. A section on unskilled, casual male hospital employees includes a general consideration of the problems faced by unattached, highly dependent males in our society and the functional aspect of institutional employment for these men. Chapters on the activities of various hospital departments (admission, obstetrics, operating room, laboratories, dietary unit, others) consider problems of role relationship, status hierarchy, communications, as well as certain factors associated with spatial arrangements and cultural expectancies.

The reader may regret that some sections are not as fully developed as others. A chapter on the outpatient clinic is little more than a teaser. Some sociologists may criticize the absence of more traditional sociological terminology. In the opinion of the present reviewer, this "deficiency" enhances the book's value as an example of how sociology can contribute to the better understanding of very complex factors in human organization.

Additional pertinent documentation for the sociologist is provided by *Hunterdon Medical Center*. This study, written by a physician-administrator, includes few direct references to sociological concept or theory. Yet it provides a rich source of case illustration for those interested in the rural community, social organization, role relationships, and for the student of medicine as a behavior system. The book describes the development of a rural medical center from the inception of an idea, through the intricate processes by which the idea evolved into a plan, and the plan into a program of action. The organization and administration of the Medical Center which resulted is then considered in terms of its place in the community, the function it fulfills for the patient, and the sensitive balance of relationships between its medical personnel. Sociologists will find special value in the material dealing with the mobilization of interest and support among the residents of a rural county and in the discussion of role relationships involving long-resident general practitioners and newcomer specialists. The book is well written and provocative.

The Rochester Regional Hospital Council suffers in comparison with the other two volumes here reviewed. It is a pedestrian description with limited effort to provide interpretation.

For the sociologist with a primary interest in the regional bases for human organization, it is perhaps a suggestive document.

ROBERT STRAUS

State University of New York
Upstate Medical Center

Mental Health Planning for Social Action. By GEORGE S. STEVENSON, M.D. New York: The Blakiston Division, McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1956. x, 358 pp. \$6.50.

Deutsch's book on the *Mentally Ill in America* and three collections of essays, Arnold Rose's *Mental Health and Mental Disorder* (1955) and the Douglas Haring and Kluckhohn-Murray symposia have long needed supplementation in two directions. One need was for a cross-cultural survey of the epidemiology of mental disorder with appropriate ethnopsychiatric and behavioral science theory to account for the differences. This task the reviewer recently undertook. Another need, crucial for workers and researchers in the rapidly expanding field of mental health programs and action research, was for a comprehensive work on program execution. This last George Stevenson has provided with outstanding success, drawing upon a long and productive experience on the firing line of such practical activity.

Hitting the highlights and sparing detail, the author tells the story of action programs both historically and in terms of present dimensions and needs. The grasp of essential method and theory in relevant disciplines of psychiatry and social sciences is excellent. Finally, he conveys a contagious sense of the immediacy and importance of the wide range of social problems involved. For example, the book begins on page four to take note of cross-cultural and worldwide perspectives and ends with a final Chapter on World Mental Health which discusses the 1948 organization of the World Federation for Mental Health. A twenty page supplement on Visual Aids is useful for any social scientists teaching social psychological or cultural subjects. The sense of immediacy mentioned above is heightened by chapter bibliographies containing not only useful references, but wherever possible the names and addresses of individuals and agencies contributing to this field.

Part I, called Basic Considerations, is on the overall range and history of mental health agencies and on program planning. Before the first twenty pages, we rightly learn there is no accurate count of the whole extent of mental illness. From the Midtown and Stirling studies we may be sure that previous working estimates

have been low and that the intensity of research yields higher rates. Thus Stevenson's "conservative estimate" of one million psychotics in this country is based on a conservatism in research, or lack of it. It will be surprising indeed if the Joint Commission on Mental Illness and Health does not disclose a decidedly higher figure since rural studies in Stirling County, Canada, and urban studies in Midtown, New York, hint at far greater figures for probable psychotics.

The richest sections of the book, covering existing services and unmet needs, are Parts II and III, respectively on Restoration and Protection of Mental Health. In Part II, the author contrasts diagnostic categories used in statistical reports on hospitalization issued by the National Institute of Mental Health (1951-1952) with the APA *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders* much to the detriment of the latter. To understand the course of illness, he states, we need cohort studies of various illnesses in time depth to achieve a natural history of given illness types. While this is done in medicine generally, psychiatry has lacked both follow-up and cohort studies. Follow-up studies of Norman Q. Brill and Gilbert Beebe are mentioned; those of Thomas Rennie are omitted. Now that a WHO committee has selected diagnostic categories where cultural factors are ingredient to the problem, this aspect of research becomes crucial to social psychiatry. As Aubrey Lewis pointed out in 1953, some of the most telling advances in British psychiatry have been social rather than clinical, as is indicated in parallel fashion by our own Topeka or Stockton experiments. Ideally, however, as Stevenson notes, "society . . . has not established the patient's legal right to all that science has to offer. . . . Until this fact is faced no legal right will be created" (p. 48).

Among the sound methodological principles on which the book is based, three excellent ones are stated on p. 111: (1) physiological changes relate to continuing emotional states; (2) human behavior is as open to rigorous scientific study as the behavior of organ-tissue systems; and (3), in my estimation the most important, medical research must include the study of culture, occupation and family as related to both organic and emotional functioning. Obviously, as Stevenson says (p. 77), much of social psychiatry must operate beyond hospital walls in various types of clinics, preventive programs, rehabilitation and public and professional education based on sound research. To do this, the "cultural role of the family," only initially discussed p. 215 and following, must be more

thoroughly understood from area to area, a task for social scientists working in collaboration with psychiatry.

MARVIN K. OPLER

Cornell University Medical College

Crestwood Heights: A Study of the Culture of Suburban Life. By JOHN R. SEELEY, R. ALEXANDER SIM, and ELIZABETH W. LOOSELEY. Introduction by DAVID RIESMAN. New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1956. xvii, 505 pp. \$6.50.

The subtitle of this book suggests the scope of its contents, but the sponsorship is also of great importance in understanding the orientation of the authors. The research reported on here presents the findings of part of a five-year post-World War II study undertaken by the Canadian National Committee for Mental Hygiene. The objective of this particular project was to study child growth in a suburban environment, the dilemmas of middle-class society involved in the process, and the implications for mental health.

The report is presented in four parts: Structure and Context, focusing on "the dimensions of and the ways of organizing life in Crestwood Heights"; Institutions and Function, analyzing "institutions that function within those dimensions and contribute to or express those ways of organizing life"; Integration, examining "beliefs that accompany, grow out of, justify, and alter those institutions and life ways"; and Implication, dealing with the social and psychological costs involved in "the creation of effects in one sphere (belief) and their cancellation in another (action)." Appendices explain the details of the project's operations and furnish additional documentary materials; extensive notes call attention to relevant literature and explore fine points of the report; an index contributes to the utility of the publication. David Riesman, in the Introduction, discusses the report in his usual discerning fashion.

Crestwood Heights is a Canadian suburb of thinly disguised identity, part of the metropolitan complex of a city like many in the United States. Parallels will be immediately apparent to students of urban society in both countries. But it is a suburb, of a special sort, as the authors carefully explain. It is middle class, only; it has a relatively short history, so that prestige calculations tend to be made in terms of wealth, not lineage; except for the schools, many major institutions lie on its periphery or outside entirely; one-third of its population consists of an ethnic group; it is a highly self-conscious suburb. And, of course, as is almost inherently inevitable in any such study,

there were differentials in the sample of persons who were most carefully studied, partly because of the mental health focus. Nevertheless, it is also "typical enough" to be highly enlightening for much of such suburbia on both sides of the border.

This is a highly descriptive type of report. So much so, in fact, that one has to dig through a huge amount of overburden to reach the pay seams. Parts One and Two leave no detail unrecorded; parts Three and Four suffer less from this elaboration. The ethnographic character of the book raises the question as to the audience for which it was intended. So much is familiar that, for most social scientists this side of the Atlantic, the book might well have been shortened to one-fourth of its present length; on the other hand, to a reader in India, for example, so much background material would doubtless be very helpful. It is so complete in its descriptive aspects that one could well imagine its being on the list to be included in any time capsule buried for the edification of future discoverers interested in knowing about middle-class suburbia in the 1950's.

Strangely enough, however, and for this reader at any rate, there is too little information on some points. The authors seem deliberately to have avoided the usual practice of larding the presentation with a superfluity of statistics. In leaning so far in this direction, they leave the reader wondering, for example, (1) just how many of the 17,000 population were "covered" in the study, (2) who these "covered" persons were in terms of age, sex, occupation, etc., i.e., the nature of the sample itself as contrasted with a few statistics (in footnotes) describing the total population.

All such criticisms aside, the book remains a real contribution to social science. The five-year immersion in "the Crestwood Heights way of life" lends depth to the study and provides the basis for the insights and crucial observations that consistently appear. Examples are numerous, ranging from those on the "social investment portfolio" of the suburbanites and the thorough dissection of "summer camp," to such major discussions as those regarding "experts," sex differences in belief systems—which are shown to be greater than any class, ethnic, or lay-professional differences, etc., etc. These products of the research are all the more impressive because of the authors' straightforward recognition of the difficulties and limitations involved in their derivation by middle-class researchers studying the middle class. Finally, the authors' discussions of mental hy-

giene throughout the book would bear careful perusal by all interested parties.

Child growth was the major interest of this study, with mental hygiene considerations as an almost equally important subject of investigation. This study spells out in great detail the physical, social and belief system context in which such growth takes place in Crestwood Heights. The field is still ripe for more complementary studies of other types of suburbs, so comparative analysis can take place.

GERALD BREESE

Princeton University

The Changing Shape of Metropolitan America: Deconcentration Since 1920. By AMOS H. HAWLEY. Glencoe: The Free Press, 1956. iii, 177 pp. \$4.00.

Population change, Hawley aptly observes, is one of the most precise indicators of social change. The appropriateness of this observation is well illustrated by that remarkable convergence of technological, economic, and social forces which has led, over a 50 year span, to the emergence of the metropolitan community as the dominant pattern of urban settlement in the U. S. Students of twentieth century American social life will therefore heartily welcome Hawley's careful, compact, and painstaking compilation of statistical and analytical materials relating to metropolitan growth in the U. S. It provides precise empirical documentation of a major social and demographic development.

As the second in a series of studies dealing with patterns of growth and change in metropolitan areas in the U. S., this monograph complements Bogue's earlier report on population redistribution in metropolitan America during the first half of the present century. Hawley's emphasis is on the processes of deconcentration within metropolitan communities since 1920 and on the relation of population change to distance from central cities. His analysis centers around such variables as size and annual growth of central city, distance between cities, relation of area to sea or lake or river, manufacturing industry, industrial location, and regional setting.

A special feature of this study is the introduction of the Extended Metropolitan Area as a unit of analysis for a limited number of variables, and the comparison of data relating to this geographically larger unit with that available for the corresponding Standard Metropolitan Area. Such a comparison reveals, for example, that the Standard Metropolitan Area

encompasses selectively the most rapidly growing parts of satellite areas.

This volume will undoubtedly become a standard reference work for those concerned with the development of the metropolitan community. For this reason, it is particularly unfortunate that The Free Press, which has in numerous ways rendered invaluable services to sociology, should have resorted, in this instance, to the inhumane practice of reproducing tables in a type size that one normally associates with microcards.

HARRY ALPERT

National Science Foundation

A Social Profile of Detroit 1955. A Report of the Detroit Area Study of the University of Michigan. Ann Arbor: Survey Research Center, 1956. Photolithoprinted. 46 pp. Appendices A-D. \$1.25, paper.

This report is one of a series produced by the joint efforts of faculty members, Research Center staff, and graduate students of the University of Michigan. This most recent "social profile of Detroit" deals with the family, its occupational structure, television set ownership, extended family relationships, and the role of wife and mother. The Introduction points out, and this reviewer agrees, that special value attaches to the study because of its setting, the large urban, industrial community, most typical of modern industrialized society, and admittedly most difficult to investigate.

Interviews were taken in 958 Detroit dwellings; of these, 750 were homes containing husband and wife. It is regrettable that this preliminary report gives no details of the area sampling technique used. One is reassured, however, by the comparability of certain sample characteristics with the findings of the U. S. Census of 1950. Although the "Detroit Area," as defined by the study, and the "Detroit Standard Metropolitan Area," as defined by the Census, do not exactly clearly coincide, there is close correspondence in such characteristics as number of persons per dwelling unit, tenure status for occupied dwelling units, and occupational distribution. Relevant questions from the interview schedule and tables for estimating sampling error are appended.

All the findings of this report should interest family sociologists. Several accentuate the desirability of more intensive research in certain areas, e.g., the impact of such modern phenomena as "working wives" and television on family relationships. In the Detroit sample, 78 per cent of the wives were not employed outside the home, but only 3 out of 10 had never

been so employed, and more than two-fifths of those staying at home expressed the wish to enter the labor force at a later date. Not surprising, but nonetheless significant, is the finding that over 60 per cent of the wives listed television as one of the two most important consumers of leisure time; the runner-up activity was "sewing or knitting," which was listed by approximately 23 per cent of the wives.

Of most interest to this reviewer are the sections dealing with extended family relationships. This is an area where there has been much perceptive comment (e.g., Talcott Parsons, "The Kinship System of the Contemporary United States," *American Anthropologist*, 45 (January 1943), pp. 22-38; or John Sirjamaki, *The American Family in the Twentieth Century*, Cambridge: Harvard Univ. Press, 1953, pp. 83-87), but little research (e.g., James H. S. Bossard and Eleanor S. Ball, "The Immediate Family and the Kinship Group. A Research Report," *Social Forces*, 24 (May, 1946), pp. 379-384). The Detroit study gives evidence concerning the presence of relatives, the giving and receiving of help, social contacts, and the comparative importance of relatives and friends. It concludes, "The 'typical' Detroiters are very much a member of an extended family group. . . . There is little doubt that the kin group is continuing to play an important part in the life of the metropolitan family."

EDNA M. O'HERN

St. John Fisher College

Man, Culture, and Society. Edited by HARRY L. SHAPIRO. New York: Oxford University Press, 1956. xiii, 380 pp. XIII plates. \$5.50, college edition.

If you want a good book on general anthropology for personal use, or if you are looking for an introductory textbook that is intellectually stimulating, you should examine this collection of essays.

The editor has persuaded a number of distinguished scholars to write articles covering the common subject headings of introductory texts in anthropology. The authors have made highly original contributions to their specialties, and frequently beyond their specialties.

The advantage of this procedure is that each chapter is written by an authority who commands exceptional familiarity with the specialized research relevant to his topic. The supposed disadvantage for classroom use of such a book is that it lacks the overall unity possessed by the work of a single man. In this case, however, Professor Shapiro has achieved a remarkable harmony of diverse subjects and

authors. The writing is uniformly clear and simple, and there is a balance between the systematic presentation of historical facts and general ideas.

Two of the outstanding characteristics of "the anthropological point of view" are clearly communicated in these essays: the long range perspective of human history (cultural evolution), and the interest in exploring the universal aspects of human life by examining widely diverse forms of behavior (comparative method).

Another general quality of this book is its emphasis on human accomplishments. The pessimist will find little here to confirm his view of man. The first six chapters trace the history of human progress from the biological emergence of men through the development and spread of the ancient civilizations in the Old and New Worlds. Then follow discussions of the nature and development of culture and society by E. Adamson Hoebel, Ruth Benedict, Leslie Spier, David G. Mandelbaum, Robert Redfield and others. All of them tend to accentuate the positive, with George Peter Murdock affirming the faith that "cultural change is always adaptive and usually progressive. It is also inevitable. . . . Nothing—not even an atomic war—can destroy civilization." (p. 260)

Since the whole is excellent it is perhaps unfair to single out separate chapters for praise. I am particularly pleased, however, with Hoiijer's chapter, "Language and Writing," because it fully reveals the fascination of this subject at the same time that it outlines a rigorously systematic body of knowledge. Too often newcomers to anthropology are overwhelmed by the technical details of linguistics, or are shown how important it is with interesting illustrations that leave them unacquainted with its nature as a discipline.

The chapter by Claude Levi-Strauss on the family is a pleasure to have in a popular book because he attempts to show that "a perfectly stable and durable society could exist without it" (the conjugal family) (p. 266), and that kinship systems and marriage rules should be interpreted in terms of "that very special kind of game which consists, for consanguineous groups of men, in exchanging women among themselves. . . ." (p. 283) He then consoles "the female reader" by observing that "the game would remain unchanged should it be decided to consider the men as being exchanged by women's groups." (p. 284)

Finally, R. Godfrey Lienhardt contributes a review of the various ways tribal religions are interpreted, giving freshness to the view that they are theories by which peoples adapt them-

elves to their life conditions by showing that primitives "share with us a concern for the truth. . . ." (p. 329)

Since this book will undoubtedly go through many printings, we hope that in a future edition maps are added locating fossils, archaeological sites, ethnographic areas and tribes mentioned in the text. Students need such maps, and even those who have completed their college educations are frequently hazy about geographical locations.

CHARLES LESLIE

Pomona College

Kibbutz: Venture in Utopia. By MELFORD E. SPIRO. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1956. xii, 266 pp. \$4.50.

Molding Society to Man: Israel's New Adventure in Cooperation. By ESTHER TAUBER. New York: Bloch Publishing Co., 1955. 155 pp. \$2.75.

These two books contribute in different but complementary ways to our knowledge of the collective movement in Israel. Professor Spiro, an American anthropologist, describes in detail the culture of a single collective settlement or *kibbutz*. Dr. Tauber, an Israeli who has studied in this country, deals rather sketchily with the cooperative movement as a whole and more fully with the *kibbutz* in relation to it.

In many ways the *kibbutz* seems an ideal subject for Spiro's type of ethnographic research. He and his wife lived for eleven months as *de facto* members of a *kibbutz*, working in various branches of the economy, attending meetings and celebrations, eating in the common dining hall, bathing in the communal showers. As participants they were able to observe informally and thoroughly a wide range of collective activities. These are described in sections dealing with the economy, social control, parent-child relations, ceremonial and political life. Occasionally Spiro seems to accept *kibbutz* ideology for reality, as when he asserts that, "there is no polarization of society into those who command and those who obey, those who are respected and those who respect." (p. 24) But subsequent description serves to qualify such doubtful generalizations.

In each aspect of *kibbutz* life described, the impact of the collective way is apparent. Social control, no longer possible through differential economic reward, is maintained chiefly through a powerful consciousness of moral obligation to the community, bulwarked by omniscient public opinion. Collective nurseries and schools, necessitated by the emphasis on sexual equality and economic efficiency, have so fully adopted the

socializing function as to lead Spiro to wonder whether the family as conventionally defined still exists in the *kibbutz*. Ceremonial and political life have been elaborated to an extraordinary degree in ways that reflect the ceaseless demand for expressions of social unity. Such characteristics have been geared together into what looked (at least until quite recently) to be a vigorous social machine.

One wonders why so extreme a collective form was able to develop and flourish in Palestine. Spiro points to some significant psychological and ideological characteristics of the immigrant Jewish population, particularly of the founders of the *kibbutzim*. They were rebels against the traditional way of life in Eastern Europe who found expression for their rebellion in the effort to establish a society based on social equality, "the religion of labor," and service to the emergent Jewish nation.

The manner in which they pursued these goals might not have been predicted, however, from the goals alone. In Dr. Tauber's book we find a fuller discussion of the socio-economic conditions in Palestine which affected the evolution of the *kibbutz*. The early settlers had neither the land, capital, nor labor skills necessary to succeed as individual farmers, except in the limited territory where plantations were feasible. To develop other areas, the Zionist agencies purchased land which they leased to any Jewish settlers who wanted to farm, however they might be organized. This policy helped create a laboratory in which the "survival value" of various social forms could be ascertained. Several forms failed the test, among them an interesting planned community proposed by Franz Oppenheimer in which management was not controlled by the members. Other experiments proved more successful. A smallholders' cooperative community emerged which at present has more members than the *kibbutz*. Recently a compromise type practising collective production and private consumption has gained adherents, the more enthusiastic contending that the other forms should and will move in this direction.

Developments such as these, though outside the *kibbutz*, have affected its growth. For example, the other settlements have helped support the framework of cooperatives which serve as a buffer between the *kibbutz* and the market. Again, competition among the forms has served the *kibbutz* in particular as a motivating force and has provided it with a negative way of defining its goals. And because the individual settlers could choose from a variety of forms, the *kibbutz* population has tended to be limited,

perhaps, to those individuals best suited to its unusual life conditions. Though such factors may lie beyond the range of traditional ethnography, they illumine some of the findings of that method.

RICHARD D. SCHWARTZ

Yale University

Sect, Cult, and Church in Alberta. By W. E. MANN. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1955. xiii, 166 pp. \$4.00.

Dr. Mann is a graduate in Sociology from the University of Toronto and gathered the material for this book in 1946-7 while working toward his Ph.D. He has also been ordained by the Anglican Church. The interesting volume which results from this dual training is No. 6 of a series of studies on Social Credit in Alberta directed and edited by Professor Clark of the University of Toronto.

Alberta is a new province, which has already experienced the dislocations of new settlement and of economic depression. For some decades, political and economic panaceas were sought as cures for local and provincial ills, and new utopian organizations abounded. When the depression of the thirties lessened the belief in the efficacy of cooperatives and of other rational and secular movements, particularly in rural regions, the way became more open for religious solutions and for political ones allied with them.

Since 1887, some half a hundred sects and cults have spread and grown in Alberta. Many of these have come from the United States, and diffusion continues in the same direction today. The sects and cults now comprise, according to the author's estimate, more than one-third of the Protestants of Alberta. With all their differences, most of the sects share some general characteristics such as fundamentalist beliefs; an opposition to science and modernism in all forms; an opposition to middle class preferences in amusements and recreations; and evangelistic techniques. They have appealed most of all to isolated individuals, many of them newly arrived in Canada and dwelling in scattered homesteads; sect membership has given a new basis for human contact. The political movement of Social Credit has many links with these religious movements.

The book gives an admirably concise and balanced appraisal of liturgy and doctrine, programme and organization of the bewildering variety of sects and cults. It is hard to see how a student without theological training could have presented this material in as readable a form. The author has a commitment himself,

however, and he often veers from objectivity to advocacy or opposition. Though he is basically a fair or even friendly critic of these new movements, he is concerned that his own church has been less successful; he feels that the sects and cults have been necessary in many ways, and there is the implication that the established churches have been somewhat remiss. His viewpoint is generally quite clear, and this mixture of objectivity and involvement should not disturb either the sociological or the clerical reader.

H. B. HAWTHORN

The University of British Columbia

Cultural Values of American Ethnic Groups. By Sister FRANCES JEROME WOODS, C.D.P. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1956. xii, 402 pp. \$4.50.

The volume under review has a varied sociological significance which is only partially suggested by the title. Primarily and most obviously, it is a contribution to the study of majority-minority relations, with conflict of values as the central theoretical focus. Secondly, its extended analysis of familial roles within ethnic groups, comprising half of the chapters, gives the work an almost equal importance for the sociology of the family. Finally, it constitutes persuasive testimony for the renewed vigor with which sociologists are endeavoring to enhance the instrumental efficacy of their discipline for the practicing professions. Its avowed purpose is to aid professional social workers (and members of allied fields) in understanding the problems of clients with ethnic backgrounds.

The author apparently believes that this goal can best be achieved by a study of the conflict of values precipitated by majority-minority relations of American ethnic groups. Yet, she excludes from her key conceptual distinctions, which appropriately avoid complexity and elaborateness, any explicit treatment of majority-minority or dominant-subordinate relations. The principal minorities, the rural Southern lower-class Negro, the transplanted rural Mexican, the Jew, the Oriental (especially the Chinese and Japanese), and the European immigrant (particularly the Italian) are included on the basis of "the numerical importance of the ethnic groups, or of the sub-groups (religion, class level, etc.) and upon the availability of material. . . . Much of the source material is primary, such as [social work] case records, personal documents, personal experiences, and other information derived from interviews." In addition, secondary sources of data

from anthropology and sociology are commonly used. The value-clashes of each group with the majority are not examined as a whole but are presented in relation to the major institutional sectors of American life—religion and magic, authority and government, the economy, recreation, education, and the family.

The study recognizes, furthermore, that successful practice may also require that the helping professional supplement detailed knowledge of majority-minority value-conflicts with an understanding of his own cultural background and the ethnic definition of his own role. Consequently, the author insists that the expert become sensitive to his own values. He is cautioned that rapport with a minority may be difficult to achieve because its members are trained to rely on kinsmen within the extended family for assistance and to decline to share intimate experiences with an outsider, because he uses tabooed words or epithets or fails to apply the appropriate title, because he reacts noticeably to a client's linguistic errors or refuses to employ the client's own language when he is known to possess such facility, or because he is identified with formal authority.

Sociologists should find this book a useful source of the most relevant recent professional and popular literature, skillfully and concisely synthesized, and replete with perceptive cases expressed simply and directly.

ROSCOE C. HINKLE, JR.

Ohio State University

The Political Behavior of American Jews. By LAWRENCE H. FUCHS. Glencoe: The Free Press, 1956. 220 pp. \$4.00.

The approach of this study is largely that of a historian—the author is a political scientist—with the added fillip of a small-scale local survey.

The participation of Jews in political office is recounted from Colonial times to the present decade. This is a succinct and apparently exhaustive summary of names, dates, places, and offices; and there is no reason to question such history. However, where the history is concerned with how Jews have voted, Fuchs frequently employs the usual historico-political science divining technique for determining the political sentiments of the nation at any given past period. Thus he can precisely generalize, "at the turn of the century Jews were still widely divided, the *slight* major party preference remaining with the Grand Old Party." (p. 50, emphasis added)

When using aggregate election returns, he is often on no more solid ground. Thus he contends

it is a matter of "simple arithmetic" to show that Democratic losses among Jews took place in the suburbs in 1952. (p. 97) But it is a matter of equally "simple arithmetic" to show that Jews in suburbs showed no greater defection from the Democratic party than Jews in urban areas; but non-Jews moving into the suburbs changed overwhelmingly from Democratic voting, and a large proportion of non-Jewish Democrats who had been living in the suburbs also voted Republican. This would add up to an increased aggregate Republican vote. In dealing with aggregate voting statistics, you can usually make them fit a variety of conclusions by the exercise of a little ingenuity.

What Fuch fails to appreciate is the range of variation of joint percentages that can give rise to the same set of marginals. Fortunately, most of his voting generalizations for this century are based upon highly skewed marginals—wards and precincts in which Jews compose 65 per cent or more of the population—and the range is considerably reduced. However, we cannot know what differences, if any, exist between Jews and Gentiles in these areas, nor can we estimate very well what proportion of Jewish voters in the country as a whole are represented.

The point of all this is not to dispute his generalizations about how Jews have voted in the past few decades. I am inclined to think he is right; but social science, if not political science, demands more rigorous pinning down of facts.

The survey, which the author conducted in Boston's heavily Jewish Ward 14 after the 1952 election campaign, is unimaginative and characterized by considerable naiveté. For example, it is reported that "scalable questions" (?) were pretested on Brandeis students, and other questions were pretested by mail questionnaire to the students' parents. The basic question for which the survey was supposed to be designed—why did Jews remain predominantly Democratic in 1952?—is not answered. Two primary sources of Jewish voting behavior are suggested—(1) the basic insecurity of the group and (2) ethno-religious values—but no tests are incorporated in the survey design; and the data reported on ethnic involvement could be interpreted as contradicting the validity of the latter source.

In the foreword to this volume, V. O. Key commends the author for having "fallen prey to no methodological monomania." This is no virtue when coupled with lack of methodological sophistication.

Despite the methodological weaknesses of this study, it would seem to be a safe conclusion that

there is a "Jewish vote," just about as strong today as it ever was, but it has no aspects of traditional party alignment. The important question is: are there legitimate grounds in American democracy for a religious grouping to take a partisan position in politics? Fuchs' answer is affirmative, though he makes no convincing case for it and implicitly seems to deny it. For he suggests that the Jewish cultural background is such that it tends to make Jews liberals and internationalists, and their partisanship is always displayed in terms of this liberalism. No one can deny that a liberal grouping has legitimate grounds in this country for taking a partisan position.

DAVID GOLD

State University of Iowa

Population. By DENNIS H. WRONG. New York: Random House (Studies in Sociology), 1956. 128 pp. Ninety-five cents, paper.

Designed as a short introduction to demography, this work includes a discussion of the following topics: the field of demography, world population growth and distribution, mortality, fertility, migration, and the Malthusian problem. A principal merit of the work is that the author does not try to say too much; he very carefully limits his discussion to the most general and fundamental aspects of population analysis. Another virtue is the simplicity of the language and the easy readability of the book.

Despite these merits, in some respects the work is more successful as an introduction to western than to world demography. In a chapter on the underdeveloped areas of the world most of the discussion is devoted to the Malthusian problem. The author succeeds in convincing the reader of the "unrealism" of the controversy between the "neo-Malthusian natural limitists" and the "neo-Godwinian planners," but one is dissatisfied with the implication that the serious problems of the underdeveloped areas which have become so important to world security in recent years can be dismissed because this academic question has not as yet been settled realistically. Nevertheless, the author in the preface admits that his treatment of the underdeveloped areas is inadequate and his bibliography lists other titles which may be profitably consulted.

Within the smaller scope of western demography the work appears to have one leading defect. In discussing trends in mortality the author quite correctly points out that when a country enters the stage of the so-called Demographic Transition, characterized by decreases in mortality which exceed decreases in

fertility, great population growth occurs. However, he implies too great a similarity of development between the past experience of advanced Western nations and the present or future of other nations entering the Transition. "Nations such as Portugal or Hungary which are just now entering their phase of transitional growth probably would show a pattern of age-specific (mortality) rates resembling that of the United States in 1900 (pp. 34-35)." This statement can be contested on factual grounds alone by comparing age-specific mortality rates reported for Portugal in the United Nations' *Demographic Yearbook*, 1949-1950, and 1953, pp. 398-9 and 198-9, respectively, with available age-specific rates for the Death Registration States of the U.S.A. of 1900. As early as 1940 rates for Portugal are reported which are somewhat lower than those of 1900 in the U.S.A., while substantially lower rates are reported for Portugal in 1947, 1948, 1949, 1950, and 1951.

The above deficiencies are more than outweighed, however, by the general utility of the book. Sociologists and demographers who have wished for a non-technical work on the science of population analysis to recommend to the beginning student and to the general inquirer will welcome the appearance of this little book. An excellent supplementary volume for teaching purposes would be *Introduction to Demography*, by Mortimer Spiegelman [see *American Sociological Review*, 21 (April, 1956), p. 24] which deals with the technical aspects of population analysis.

MICHAEL K. ROOF

Library of Congress

Field Manual for the Student in Elementary Sociology. By FRANK F. MILES and ROBERT W. O'BRIEN. New York: The Dryden Press, 1956. Not pagged. \$2.50, paper.

Field Projects and Problems in Educational Sociology and Social Foundations of Education. By CELIA B. STENDLER. New York: The Dryden Press, 1956. Not pagged. \$2.00, paper.

The careful reading of these two "workbooks" has been a rewarding task for the reviewer. Previously he has had something of the superciliousness, not unknown in our craft, which maintained that the use of such things was, for the most part, "busy work" and somewhat beneath the consideration of the serious academician. This attitude has now changed to one of respectful ambivalence. He has no hesitation in saying that any college teacher of either elementary sociology or educational sociology should find both of these books stimulating.

The word "both" is emphasized because he feels that a teacher of either course would find much to interest him in the workbook designed primarily for the other.

I retain a certain ambivalence with respect to the use of these books which their authors envisioned, due to no intrinsic fault of the works themselves. This uncertainty stems from what every sophisticated teacher of undergraduates knows: there are such things as fraternity, sorority, and other types of student "files." If, instead of the thought-provoking and challenging exercises they were designed to be, they result simply in routine copying of a form which some previous student had originally filled in, the main function of their use would be vitiated. Granted conscientious and independent work by the student, they should give him insights and a closeness to the data of sociology to a degree perhaps more difficult to achieve otherwise.

Miles and O'Brien have done a workmanlike job in correlating their materials with specific chapters in the most widely-used basic textbooks: Broom and Selznick; Cuber; Davis; Green; Lundberg, Schrag, and Larsen; MacIver and Page; Merrill and Eldridge; Ogburn and Nimkoff; Sutherland, Woodward, and Maxwell; and Young. The user of any of these texts will find no difficulty in finding workbook materials which should enrich his treatment of the topics discussed. There are place in the book where one wishes terms such as "psychological," "social," "biological," for example, might have been more carefully defined before offering them to the student. Like so many sociologists they, too, employ the unprecise term, "mate selection," when they are really discussing *spouse* selection. But these are, perhaps, trivial criticisms in the larger perspective of the worth of the entire book. The selection of topics is excellent and the sample adequate for the presentation of the basic conceptual scheme of the usual beginning course in "principles."

Unlike Miles and O'Brien, who name texts with which their book was designed to be used, Stendler mentions no specific text and refers to none throughout the book. She simply states that the "workbook has been prepared for use in courses in Educational Sociology and the Social Foundations of Education." While the omission of specific references to readings in leading texts may make its use a bit less handy than in the case of the one by Miles and O'Brien, this is not a serious criticism. There are materials here which will do much to implement the basic concepts of such a course regardless

of the textbook used. While its use is subject to the same limitations mentioned earlier, I am inclined to agree that its serious use by the student should "make the subject matter come alive for the student in giving him opportunities to apply his new knowledge to everyday life." The use of problem and role approaches is especially significant.

Whether adopted for student use *en masse* or not, these recent workbooks merit a careful examination by all teachers of elementary sociology and educational sociology at the college level. There is much within their pages of suggestion for the teaching of such courses. If properly used, they should do much for the students; they should hardly do less for their teachers.

JAMES T. LAING

Kent State University

Sociology: An Analysis of Life in Modern Society. Second Edition. By ARNOLD W. GREEN. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1956. xiv, 576 pp. \$6.50.

During the past year several new or revised introductory text books in sociology have appeared. On the whole they represent considerable improvement over those of a decade or two ago. Green's is one of the better revisions.

For the most part this book is clearly written and likely to interest undergraduate beginners. The illustrations are attractive and usually relevant, but not particularly valuable for the interpretation of basic concepts and principles. Summaries at the end of chapters are perforce rather abstract and may tempt conscientious but unimaginative students to memorize words without much meaning.

Those who have made a serious study of elementary textbooks in any field are aware of a major dilemma confronting teachers and authors; propositions must be simplified for the benefit of beginners, but simplification must not become misrepresentation. Green is aware of this problem, as is shown, for example, by his "note to the instructor" on page 96. But, like other textbook writers, he has not solved it. Note, *inter alia*, the following. "Competition is always governed by moral norms." (p. 56) "Social values become part of a person only when he is aware of them." (p. 137) "A social problem is a set of conditions which are defined as morally wrong. . . ." (p. 231) "Dominance between the sexes is universally a function of economic control." (p. 348)

Another problem for authors of introductory textbooks is how to start. Few, if any, have written an altogether satisfactory first chapter.

Beginners are not likely to be interested in definitions of science, sociology, theory, objectivity, and the like. Green's first chapter is no better and no worse than most.

Still another problem is that of sequence. Green, in Part I, deals with the organism in relation to physical environment, society and culture, the development and nature of personality. Then in Part II he leaps to population and stratification. Part III deals with institutions—surely a part of culture. Part IV is concerned with social change. This reviewer is dubious about both the "logic" and the "pedagogy" of this sequence.

Finally, the avowed ethnocentric emphasis raises serious questions. Admittedly it is well to use some data from the society of which students are a part. Likewise, no one will question the desirability of interpreting this society and its culture to its young members. But whether this can best be done by almost exclusive attention to "modern American society" is a question which the reviewer is more ready to raise than to answer.

STUART A. QUEEN

Washington University
St. Louis

Social Psychology. The Revised Edition. By ALFRED R. LINDESMITH and ANSELM L. STRAUSS. New York: The Dryden Press, 1956. xvi, 703 pp. \$5.50.

Partisans of the original edition of this text will find some decided improvements in this revision; but critics will find that the changes are not extensive enough to warrant a re-evaluation of its merits compared to other texts.

The major changes from the original edition published seven years ago are essentially: (1) a wider presentation of various approaches, particularly psychoanalysis; (2) greater documentation; (3) the addition of suggestions for discussion or reports at the end of each chapter; (4) omission of two chapters on collective behavior; and (5) a broader and more intensive treatment of childhood personality development, personality change, motivation, and social structure and personal organization.

The questionable feature of this text is its willingness to take a definite stand in terms of orientation. The approach throughout emphasizes the basic dynamic factor of symbolic interaction; and while not neglecting to consider other factors such as biological influences or habit mechanisms, nevertheless the authors feel that the influence of symbolic processes constitutes the foundation of the socialization process.

Eschewing a vogue can be hazardous but

sometimes rewarding. In this case the frank admission of the authors that they do not profess to be eclectic elicits from this reviewer a cry of "bravo." Too often, the so-called eclectic approach, especially in the basic course in social psychology, serves simply to confuse the student by suggesting that one avenue is just as good—and therefore as valid—as another. In many instances, this attitude is justifiable scientific reservation; but in many others, it is intellectual irresponsibility. One can take a position of preference without being dogmatic or exclusive; and in this respect, the approach utilized by the authors warrants serious consideration.

It is unfortunate that after more than forty years of development, the basic course in social psychology—as represented by the texts produced—remains too often a hodge-podge of discrete topics whose significance seems to be unrelated to a general systematizing theory. Though stressing the significance of symbolic interactions, this text—like so many others—seems to leave the third-year student with a feeling that social psychology is a course (and therefore a field) which flits about unrelatedly from Morgan to Kinsey, or from aphasia to criminality. Admittedly such a compendium of often spectacular data makes for an interesting course to teach—but is this what we mean by the field of social psychology? This reviewer is dubious.

CARLO L. LASTRUCCI

San Francisco State College

An Outline of Social Psychology. Revised Edition. By MUZAHER SHERIF and CAROLYN W. SHERIF. With a new introduction by GARDNER MURPHY. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1956. xix, 792 pp. \$6.00.

This edition, revised in collaboration with Carolyn Sherif, is an extensive rewriting, expansion, and reorganization of a valuable text in social psychology. In addition to revisions in every chapter, the following changes are notable. (1) Two chapters have been inserted at the beginning which give a careful statement of the author's gestalt orientation, emphasizing frames of reference in perception and the selectivity of experience. (2) Chapters have been reordered so as to place the extended treatment of groups, interaction, and social norms before the discussion of human motives. (3) Small group research occupies a large place in the revised edition, though dependence is chiefly on extended discussion of the authors' own experiments in this field. This small-group emphasis, the general enlargement of the materials

on groups, interaction, and social norms, and the new organization of the book make it of special interest to sociologists. (4) A concluding chapter tracing past and present trends in social psychology has been added.

In its first edition this work had been valuable for its treatment of group norms, of perception, reference groups, and ego-involvements, and for its emphasis on experimental methodology. As a textbook, however, it suffered by lack of completeness and balance. The new edition retains these special features, but gives a more rounded treatment of social psychology and should be more serviceable as a text. The treatment of Sherif's ingenious experiments on group norms is improved by being related to our knowledge of group processes.

The book is attractively set up, with abundant illustrations. Each chapter concludes with a list of references which reflect the authors' genuine attempt to assume an interdisciplinary approach.

RALPH H. TURNER

University of California, Los Angeles

Nonverbal Communication: Notes on the Visual Perception of Human Relations. By JURGEN RUESCH and WELDON KEES. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1956. 205 pp. \$7.50.

Jurgen Ruesch, a Swiss psychiatrist, and Weldon Kees, a photographer who has published books in the visual field, begin their book by defining their subject as follows: "The word *communication* will be used here in a very broad sense to include all of the procedures by which one mind may affect another. This, of course, involves not only written and oral speech, but also music, the pictorial arts, the theatre, the ballet, and in fact all human behavior."

As the above quote indicates, their approach is eclectic rather than reductionistic. They begin by dividing the field into four "settings": the intrapersonal, or intrapsychic, which they refer to as "thinking and feeling"; the interpersonal (between two persons); a group setting wherein many people occupy positions in a network; and a societal setting that includes communications between groups.

Under "Methodology" the authors state that they have chosen a clinical one with "emphasis on observation rather than upon experiment and measurement in a laboratory sense." They claim that by so doing they have avoided the traditional approach to human behavior that results in dissection of the human being and the compartmentalization of knowledge.

The book has four parts: I. The Frame of

Reference, II. Message Through Nonverbal Action, III. Message Through Object and Picture, and IV. The Language of Disturbed Interactions.

There is also a summary, as well as a list of 169 references which includes selections from the fields of art, art criticism, somatology, the dance, cybernetics, psychiatry, linguistics, physical anthropology, and semantics, to mention only a few.

Almost half of the book is devoted to plates of photographs (three to six per page) carefully selected and tastefully put together, with the result that the format and layout communicate "This is an art book."

Ruesch, who has been studying and writing about communication for years, is to be commended for the very ambitious goals he has set for himself, as well as for re-emphasizing the point that communication is not one thing but many things.

In spite of the objective of a unified approach the result is just the opposite. It is hard to encompass in one frame such diverse ways of approaching the subject as are manifest in the thinking of H. S. Sullivan, Norbert Wiener, W. H. Sheldon (somatotypes), Pavlov, and George Orwell. There are also many omissions for a study of communication. Basic works in the field of descriptive linguistics are totally ignored, so that Ruesch's formulations fail to take into account recent progress in this field.

The book contains many highly suggestive insights on a variety of levels. It fails, however, in its attempts to unify this material in a way that would make it useful either as a text or as a basic source of material.

EDWARD T. HALL, Jr.

*Washington Branch,
Human Relations Area Files*

Sexual Misbehavior of the Upper Cultured. By ARTHUR H. HIRSCH. New York: Vantage Press, 1955. 512 pp. \$6.00.

Pornography, I take it, is to be distinguished from erotica by its frank intent to excite the reader sexually. Erotica, by contrast, always claims some other goal while titillating. Thus, the *Khamasutra* of Vatsyayana is erotica not pornography, though it is wholly concerned with an elaborate description of sex techniques, because it seeks mainly to enlighten the reader. By contrast, the classic "French Stenographer" is pornography. This book is, then, erotica, because the author claims to be a researcher engaged in giving information to "workers in human relations." It is an excessively tedious

documentation of the fact that some couples play rather intimately together outside marriage and sometimes without having met each prior to the play period. I had not supposed anyone doubted the occurrence of such episodes.

Since Hirsch has not bothered to tell us how he got his information, we must haltingly infer what took place. He claims a "sample" of twenty thousand men and twenty-one thousand women. He has used both letters and interviews. Apparently, the interviews ("pleasant, at lunch, dinner, in the home or office" . . . "not a fixed questionnaire . . .") were obtained in order to check "every item of information" in the more than 137,000 personal letters dealing with love, romance, intimacy, and other sexual behavior, written by upper culture white persons since 1940." These letters "were lent or given by persons who possessed them, either by virtue of having shared in the correspondence which they represent, or having acquired them in one way or another by the methods known to research specialists." The "misbehavior," then, is sexual intercourse outside marriage. The "upper cultured" include, surprisingly enough to these people, practical nurses, sales clerks, timekeepers, tailors, cashier's assistants. That is, almost all were white collar workers.

If I have guessed correctly, Hirsch has fallen victim to a common enough error in social research. Somewhere, somehow, he has obtained the files of a Lonely Hearts office, and from that point he has ferreted out the fact ("there is not an episode described in this volume . . . that is not fully verified") that a sex episode actually took place. Since there is no statement that the author has actually interviewed forty-one thousand people over the past ten years, some high proportion of these cases are analyzed on the basis of mainly the letters. His error is the belief that if one has a mass of intimate data available, then *ipso facto* one's research is significant. Contrary to Hirsch, their own letters do not "tell unmistakably what their behavior was." Moreover, contrary to the litterateur, intimacy of material is not equivalent to theoretical significance. The social scientist, like the good novelist, learns hard the truth that "there's a story in this material" only if intelligent craftsmanship is put to work on it. If this were not so, all of us could be good novelists and sociologists, for all of us have intimate lives.

The resulting vignettes are, of course, titillating. We are given the sound, smell, physical movement, pleasure, and anxiety of sex. This is not enough, unless pornography is the aim. There are vast and complex problems in sex, the

most social of appetites. Hirsch has so little sense of this complexity, that he sees his work as throwing light on it, and obviously feels pleased at this formulation: "If we admit that the sexual conduct of the human being on all levels is the result of his physiological, biological, anatomical, or other natural organization, to which are added experience, observation, and culture, and that the religious is one of these, the problem of evaluating sexual experience is considerably simplified." (all italics).

The author's own attitude is also ambivalent. He comments on the changes in moral standards over the past few generations, and frequently defends both technical variations as well as the change of partner, but on different pages he clucks his tongue at all such goings-on. Thus, he stands on the side of morality, while letting us nevertheless enjoy the "feelthy peectures"—a common enough sales technique in religion as well as publishing. Since, however, his facts are no more than common journalism, and he believes that a bundle of anecdotes, clippings from letters of assignation, comments by a hotel night clerk, and diary episodes will substitute for good theory, we learn no more than we already knew about the complex interaction between the sex urge and role prescriptions, intensity of moral conviction and conformity of behavior, transmutations of moral rules under the impact of appetite, the interaction of various levels of attitudes and beliefs, the statistical distribution of even behavioral patterns (after all, Hirsch has caught more people in his net than did Kinsey), or the decision pattern which might lead to an assignation with an essentially unknown partner.

It is not quite true that venery exists only in the eye of the beholder, but the maxim applies here; the author was so surprised that such things take place, he thought it worth while to tell us about it. Doubtless, there were important facts in his materials besides venery, but doubtless, too, the author did not see them.

WILLIAM J. GOODE

Columbia University

Niveau de vie et progrès technique en France depuis 1860. Par PAUL COMBE. Préface de JEAN FOURASTIÉ. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1956. 618 xli, pp. F. 1955.

In the United States, that robust and forever expanding society, it is fashionable for scholars to utter somber warnings about the impending doom of our institutions. In France, on the contrary, in the face of disaster of all kinds, it has always been the task of the intellectuals to

extoll the superior virtues of the French ways of life and culture. In this respect the present volume is a welcome exception. It is a socio-economic treatise measuring in sober and scholarly fashion the economic, social and political decline of France and attempting to salvage from the examination of what caused it some lessons for the future.

But for this, the work would not be an atypical French volume. Its merits include a thorough documentation and meticulous planning complete with an extensive table of contents and a summary of the argument in six languages. Its demerits consist of voluminousness sometimes degenerating into mere loquacity and a certain personalization of style well illustrated by frequent genuflections before sociologist Simiand "notre regretté maître," who apparently had a great influence on the author. There is also the inevitable and the truly gallic note of France's mission in the world: in this case "the safeguarding of man from the machine" (p. 25). In view of the unfortunate failure of France in every field of endeavor documented so excellently by the author, it is difficult to see in what way her example is thus to safeguard us.

The core of the book consists of a painstaking economic and for the most part statistical, analysis. Over a period of 110 years (1860-1939; and in the appendix 1939-1949) M. Combe traces the changes in the value of capital goods, in salaries and wages, in the volume of investment and in the political, social and intellectual position of France relative to other nations. His results indicate universal net decline caused not only by such well known factors as the fall in the birth rate, the declining spirit of enterprise, and other historical vicissitudes but also by the less tangible intellectual impact of the "powerful influences of a logical language, tending to the abstract, and stronger in the expression of reasoning than in the description of the concrete." This stress on intellectual development divorced from reality results more and more in the "shift from the abstract to the fictitious" (p. 601). Having placed their faith in the education of intellectual leaders, the French abound in minds capable of assessing accurately their position, but are powerless to do more than to dream about practical remedies.

There is something stirring in this Spenglerian, steadily unveiling "drame français" which the author relentlessly and unhesitatingly conjures from the multiplicity of economic data. After a series of recommendations the book ends in recognition that the rational appraisal of the

situation affords but little hope for improvement. In spite of "inquietude mortelle" the sole refuge of the French is in emotional hope, "le coeur, avec son éternel besoin d'espérer" (p. 539). Apart from a wealth of economic information, it is insights into the French mind such as these, and the lessons which they afford, that make the reading of this bulky volume worth while.

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The Yao Village: A Study in the Social Structure of a Nyasaland Tribe. By J. CLYDE MITCHELL. Manchester: Manchester University Press on behalf of the Rhodes-Livingstone Institute, Northern Rhodesia, 1956. xviii, 235 pp. 30/-, net.

The Yao Village is a structural-functional study of a Nyasaland tribe which occupies a large portion of the Shire Highlands of Northern Nyasaland, British Central Africa. The Yao are one of the most important peoples of Nyasaland because of their long-standing history as intermediaries in the trade between coast and highlands. Long before European arrival in Africa, the Yao supplemented their agricultural activities with trade and thus became important to first the Arabs and later the Portuguese as middlemen in the slave and ivory trades.

The study is based principally on the results of the author's field research carried out during twenty-one months of work broken into two sessions from September 1946 to September 1947 and from September 1948 to June 1949 as a Research Officer of the Rhodes-Livingstone Institute. The first two chapters of the book set out the objectives of the research, a brief historical sketch of the Yao, and something of the methods whereby Yao society is viewed as a ranked system of villages which are the smallest groups acting in the political field as well as the units within which kinship is most significant. Following this are three chapters dealing with the external relations of villages: the grouping into chiefdoms of numerous villages; the ranking of village headmen within a chiefdom, which is objectively accomplished by the use of a numerical scoring based on their prerogatives and then correlated with the origin and position of the headmen vis-à-vis the administration, other chiefdoms and so on; and the role of the headman. The author then turns to the internal structure of the village which is a series of matrilineages linked to the headman by many different kinship ties. In a long chapter

the forces acting to weld the village together into a politically effective whole or to fragment it into a series of new villages are examined. This is followed by an analysis of the presence of patrilineally-linked groups within the village as a result of the previous practice of the use of female slaves as concubines and the retention of their children in the village where they have been gradually incorporated into the kinship system by virtue of their relation to some male.

A final chapter adds further historical dimensions in a consideration of the form of the village through time. The dynamic character of a social system is emphasized by following the village through a cycle which leads from its inception, through internal differentiation out of a larger group, to final break-up through its own differentiation, and resumption of the original simple form.

A series of Appendices lends even more factual material to the generous amount supplied within the text. Included are hut counts, village plans, genealogies, and a small amount of economic data relating to the expanded desires of the people through their inclusion in the wider European economy.

EDGAR V. WINANS

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*Bwamba: A Structural-Functional Analysis of a
Patrilineal Society.* By EDWARD H. WINTER.
Cambridge, England: W. Heffer and Sons,
Limited, for the East African Institute of
Social Research, n.d. x, 264 pp. 30/-, net.

This book is of considerable interest as being the first full tribal monograph to be published by the E.A.I.S.R. It concerns a small tribe lying between Ruwenzori and the Semliki River, in Western Uganda. The author writes (p. 13): "In the pages which follow an analysis of the social structure will be presented and I shall

attempt to explain how it is constructed and how it operates. For this reason long verbatim accounts of particular events, or detailed descriptions of ceremonies will be avoided." Economic aspects have been largely excluded as they form the subject matter of another study.

Such a presentation is not entirely in line with modern methods of issuing the results of anthropological research. The author shows himself familiar with recent literature on lineage systems, which are his chief concern; but at the same time his presentation seems to the reviewer to be somewhat of a reversion to the older type of ethnographic monograph, formalistic and passionless. A certain rigidity of conception would appear to be connected with the almost complete absence of case material. This lack of documentation comes as a surprise when the general trend, at least in the English tradition, is towards more detailed investigation and description of smaller groups. This surely is the main difficulty. One result is that the reader is not in a position to assess generalizations, or to evaluate what the author means when he speaks of people "tending" to act in this way or that. The same cause lies behind the difficulty one has in disentangling "ideal" from "actual" behaviour—a problem the author nevertheless shows himself familiar with in his discussion of the manipulation of genealogies. The same thing leads, I feel, to a more serious difficulty. For it is in the presentation of case material that the significance of deviation best emerges. The lack of it gives the reader the idea of a non-dynamic society, and seems in a way to have affected the author's own conception of social life. As an instance, it can allow him to speak of the relationship between co-wives as being "weak and conflict-laden" (p. 73). This is surely a self-contradiction which makes sense only if one affirms that a conflict relationship is not itself a social relationship.

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BOOK NOTES

The Teaching of the Social Sciences in India. Paris: UNESCO, 1956. 197 pp. UNESCO Publications Center, 152 West 42 Street, New York 36. \$2.50, paper.

This survey of social sciences in Indian Universities will be useful to persons planning research or teaching assignments in India. A general historical and philosophical background for the social sciences in Indian higher education is provided by Humayun Kabir. There is also a general chapter on the structure of the Indian University by S. Mathai. The remainder of the volume is devoted to specialized chapters on the various social sciences, their development and present status. Economics, political science, international relations, sociology, social psychology, social anthropology and legal education are included. Sociology is treated explicitly only as part of G. S. Ghurye's chapter on "The Teaching of Sociology, Social Psychology and Social Anthropology," however, some detail is given regarding social anthropology and social psychology by D. N. Majumdar and H. P. Maiti, respectively. The undeveloped character of sociology in Indian institutions of higher education is reflected in the small amount of attention given the field in this report.—BRYCE RYAN.

Tito's Yugoslavia. By ERIC L. PRIDONOFF. Introduction by BRODIE E. AHLPORT. Washington, D. C.: Public Affairs Press, 1955. vii, 243 pp. \$3.75.

The book is primarily a blast at Tito's Yugoslavia, the result of the author's experiences as an official of the State Department while stationed in Yugoslavia during and after World War II (as economic officer of the American Embassy in Belgrade between 1944 and 1946). The student of politics will enjoy reading especially about the operation of Tito's brand of communism and what diplomatic blunders were committed by Roosevelt and Churchill when handling the Yugoslav problems during the war and at Yalta. He will also be interested in the account of how the UNRRA operations in that country backfired on the Western donors. The sociologist will find here a good example of the mentality of the "marginal man" (since the author was born in Belgium, spent his early years in Russia, was educated in China, and reached California in 1926), and of the culture conflicts, growing out of culture contacts, intended to be fruitful because of their idealism, but resulting in intense bitterness because of the ideological incompatibility.—JOSEPH S. ROUCEK.

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